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THE BIBLE IN INDIA

With a Chapter on Ceylon

By J. S. M. HOOPER

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Preface

IN THIS LITTLE BOOK no attempt has been made to estimate the part the Bible has already played in moulding the thought and life of India. Such a study is full of fascination, but it would resolve itself into the story of India during the last century and a half. The aim of this book is much more modest, and even so it can only be an outline of a great subject telling of the progress made thus far in making the Bible available for India in the various languages of the country. The amount and quality of the material for such a record varies greatly in the different languages. Full use has, of course, been made of Canton's great *History of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, and of the very valuable Annual Reports of that Society, as well as of the *Historical Catalogue of Printed Bibles* in its five volumes of massive scholarship. In the various Bible houses in India there is a considerable amount of information about some versions. Histories of missionary societies and of missions in general have provided a background, and in some cases papers on particular versions have been published. These have been consulted and freely used. There are, of course, biographies of the better known men and efforts have been made to secure details of some who deserve greater fame than they enjoy. It is impossible to give full references in a book where nothing is original, but I am very greatly indebted to many friends, Indian and European, in India and elsewhere, who have given me generous help in securing accurate information.

I would apologize in advance for any errors that may be discovered : in dealing with a subject so vast, with references to many people about whom there may well be fuller sources of information than any I have been able to discover, it is certain that some errors have crept in. I can only ask for

the indulgence of the reader, and the favour of a note calling attention to what is wrong.

It is a matter of great regret to me that the scope of the book makes necessary not only the omission of much information as to the size of editions, methods of printing and so forth, but also a very summary treatment of recent translation work. It has not been possible even to name some of those who have devoted years of their lives to the work of translation and revision—names familiar and greatly honoured in the fields which are to-day rich with the fruits of their labour. This book is concerned chiefly with origins, and when, as is now the case in most of the great language areas, methods of work have been reduced to a system, with chief revisers and committees to check the results, the very efficiency and uniformity of the system make it unsuitable and unnecessary to write about it in detail.

One further word may perhaps be said of the present organization of the Bible societies in India. The whole of the country has for many years been mapped out in fields, corresponding roughly to the great language divisions, each of them with its Auxiliary Committee and Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society. These Committees have rendered and continue to render most valuable service to the Society, and it is on their recommendation that new translations and revisions are undertaken, and that the great work of publication and distribution is carried on. The Bible Society headquarters are in Bombay, Lahore, Allahabad, Calcutta, Madras, Bangalore and Colombo, in each of which places is a Secretary: since 1932 there has also been a General Secretary for India and Ceylon, whose headquarters is in Nagpur, in the very centre of India.

In addition, both the National Bible Society of Scotland and the American Bible Society give grants for colportage work in India, working in happy co-operation with the British and Foreign Bible Society.

J. S. M. HOOPER.

*Nagpur,
Central Provinces.*

Introductory

IT IS NOT POSSIBLE within the compass of this book to do more than touch upon many of the problems of language that are germane to the work of Bible translation. But any student of the subject should know something of the main lines of language classification in India, with approximate population figures and the extent to which some portion at least of the Scriptures is available for the people. The figures are taken from the 1931 Census Report of India (Vol. I, Part I, p. 351) and they include Burma, which is not, however, otherwise within the scope of this volume:

<i>Languages of India and Burma.</i>	<i>No. of languages spoken.</i>	<i>No. of Speakers.</i>
Languages of India and Burma	225	349,887,527
(i) Austric	19	5,342,708
(ii) Tibeto-Chinese	156	15,352,774
(iii) Dravidian	14	71,644,787
(iv) Indo-European	27	257,492,805

The following list shows the languages, each of which is spoken as their mother-tongue by at least a million people in India, with a statement of the Scriptures that are available:

<i>Language.</i>	<i>Population.</i>	<i>Chiefly found.</i>	<i>Scriptures.</i>
<i>Austic Family</i>			
Kherwari (Santali, Mundari, Ho, &c.)	4,031,970	Bihar and Orissa	Bible in Santali and Mundari
<i>Dravidian Family</i>			
Tamil	20,411,652	Madras	Bible
Malayalam	9,137,615	S.W. Madras	Bible
Kanarese	11,206,380	Mysore	Bible
Kurukh (or Oraon)	1,037,142	Bihar and Orissa	N.T. portions
Gondi	1,864,878	Central Provinces and Berar	N.T. portions
Telugu	26,373,727	Madras and Hyderabad	Bible

THE BIBLE IN INDIA

<i>Language.</i>	<i>Population.</i>	<i>Chiefly found.</i>	<i>Scriptures.</i>
<i>Indo-European Family</i>			
Pashto	1,636,490	N.W. Frontier	Bible
Kashmiri	1,438,021	Kashmir	Bible
Lahnda (Western Panjabi)	8,566,051	Panjab	N.T.
Sindhi	4,006,147	Bombay	N.T.
Marathi	20,889,658	Bombay, C.P. and Hyderabad	Bible
Oriya	11,194,265	Bihar and Orissa, &c.	Bible
Bihari	27,926,559	Do.	N.T.
Bengali	53,468,469	Bengal	Bible
Assamese	1,999,057	Assam	Bible
Eastern Hindi	7,867,103	Central Provinces and Bengal	Urdu Bible and Hindi Bible
Western Hindi	71,547,071	United Provinces, &c.	
Rajasthani (see p. 84)	13,897,896	Rajputana Agency, &c.	N.T. portions
Gujarati	10,849,984	Bombay, Baroda, &c.	Bible
Bhili	2,189,531	Central India	N.T. portions
Panjabi	15,839,254	Panjab	N.T.
Western Pahari	2,325,916	Panjab, &c.	N.T. portions

It will thus be seen that the whole Bible is available in the languages that are most widely used, and that though of the 225 languages referred to in the Census Report more than half are without any portion of Scripture translated into them, yet no fewer than 175 of these are spoken by only 21½ millions of India's 350 million, and even of these 175 languages between thirty and forty have some Scriptures. There is still much work to do, not only in bringing translations of at least the Gospels to those who are without them in the smaller language groups and in completing the translations of the New Testament and of the Bible where this is needed, but also in the constant task of revision, so that the defects from which no version is free may be removed and no avoidable language barrier left to the full understanding of the Word of God.

Such a task will continue to call for persevering and consecrated scholarship. But to envisage it in terms of languages

alone is to ignore one of the outstanding barriers to the circulation of the Scriptures, a barrier that is very slowly yielding with the spread of education. Of the total population of India, excluding Burma, amounting to 338,089,691, those aged five years and over, and thus potentially literate, were returned as 283,600,707. The number of actual literates is 23,480,034. This is about 5 million more than in 1921, but during the same period the total population has risen by about 30 million, so that while literacy is gaining a little ground over illiteracy, the actual number of illiterates in 1931 was far greater than in 1921. It is thus impossible to exaggerate the urgency of the educational need in India: the Census Report illustrates the situation in a variety of ways—as, for instance, by the figure that, of every thousand persons in India proper aged five and over, 917 are illiterate: of every 1,000 females, 977 are illiterate. Such an overwhelming mass of illiteracy does not, of course, necessarily betoken an equal measure of ignorance. It is to be remembered that still some 90 per cent of the population of India is rural, and the Indian peasant ‘has been carefully trained from boyhood in the ritual and the religious observances of his forefathers. He hears the ancient epics read aloud in their pithy vernacular form. He is full of lore about crops and soils and birds and beasts. In short, he is a disciplined intelligent person, moulded on a traditional system’¹—words written over twenty years ago, but true of the whole period that comes within the scope of this little book.

Any generalizations about India are in danger of being misleading, and it is therefore necessary to point out that within the Indian society there are wide variations of culture as there are of geographical conditions, ranging from the primitive customs of the Stone Age to the latest amenities of Western civilization. There is an amazing variety of religious belief and unbelief, far greater, for instance, than could be found in the whole of Europe. And all this in a vast land of

¹ Sir T. W. Holderness, *Peoples and Problems of India*, p. 84 (Home University Library).

physical contrasts, of teeming and fertile plains, of arid deserts, of wild and impenetrable jungles, of tiger and fever haunted swamps, of the world's greatest mountain ranges and of some of its greatest rivers.

When the pioneers of Biblical translation began their task illiteracy was far more widespread than it is to-day, and it was fortified, as it no longer is, by the institution of caste. Caste remains in India; but learning is no longer the preserve of the favoured few, and as far as the law of the land can govern practice, public elementary schools are open to the outcaste on equal terms with the Brahmin; and, with whatever handicaps, the outcaste is making good use of his opportunities. Girls' education, too, was all but unknown a century and a quarter ago, and, deplorably backward though it still is, there has been a marvellous development of higher education for women, of which the revolutionary results are hardly yet even beginning to be seen.

It is also to be remembered that India has never suffered from a dearth of religious literature, and that at one end of the scale of her vast population there has always been a section whose religious pride has become proverbial; and this arrogance has been based on the exclusive possession of an ancient sacred literature. As the nineteenth century brought its changes in the structure and outlook of Indian society this Brahmin pride became the common stock of India's new self-consciousness and self-respect; and at the beginning of the twentieth century it was a truism on the lips of the Indian student that though India might be backward in the relatively unimportant field of material prosperity and political power, she was pre-eminent in the things of the soul, to which her sages had given their thoughts through all the centuries. It was thus into a well-occupied territory that the Bible had to win its way, and it is one of the most striking evidences of the intrinsic worth of the Bible that it does to-day occupy so commanding a position in the thought and knowledge of educated Indians. In all newspapers written in English a knowledge of the main outlines of the Gospel story

and of the teaching of the Lord Jesus is taken for granted and may at any time be the subject of easy reference; and the standard of teaching and of sacrificial life set by the Lord Jesus is widely acknowledged to be the highest that has been placed before men. If any one contribution from the West to India during the last century and a quarter were to be singled out as of supreme and permanently fructifying worth it would be difficult to find any serious rival to the Bible: many would name Shakespeare as a good second in India, as he has been in England itself.

The Bible as the indispensable accompaniment of the missionary is so much taken for granted to-day that it is well to be reminded that it was not always so. There were Christians in India long before Augustine came to Canterbury from Rome, and one of the most interesting by-ways of Church history is that in which the story of the Syrian Church in Malabar is traced from the dim days of the legendary coming of the Apostle Thomas to India up to the present time. Something will be said of the Syrian Christians when the story of the Malayalam Bible is told; but it is of great interest that when Dr. Buchanan visited them in 1806 he carried away with him an ancient Syriac Bible, dating probably from the twelfth century. How it came to be there no one could say, but the Syrian Metropolitan, in presenting it to Dr. Buchanan, said, 'We have kept it, as some think, for near a thousand years.' On linguistic grounds it cannot have been written later than the twelfth century, and it contains a rubric proving it to be after the sixth. (This Bible is now in the University Library at Cambridge.) There was little use made of the Bible in the Syrian worship: the whole liturgy was in Syriac, a language not spoken by the people, and in effect it may be said that in that ancient Church the Bible was an unknown book. The Church itself was self-centred and stagnant until the missionary movement from the West touched it in the nineteenth century and kindled in it a new and living flame, which may yet spread to the whole of India.

The next Christians to come to India were the Roman Catholics, and the story of their various missions is also of absorbing interest. But they have always shown themselves at best indifferent, and at worst bitterly hostile, to a Bible without an interpreting Church, so that in the whole of their time in India they have produced no Bible translation of value. Among their missionaries, notably in the Tamil country, were men of the most outstanding devotion, as well as men of conspicuous linguistic gifts, such as the Jesuit Fathers Nobili and Beschi, who made other valuable contributions to Christian literature in the vernacular though they neglected Bible translation; one of them so misused his gifts as to produce a falsified *Esur Veda*, on the alleged immemorial antiquity of which as a part of India's Vedic literature he claimed the privileged position of a Brahmin, and on that doubly false basis proceeded to advocate the religion of Jesus Christ. In more recent years two Roman Catholic versions of the New Testament have been published in Tamil.

It was left to the Protestant missionaries to recognize the prime importance of the Bible, and it is significant that the first of them to land in India, Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, was also the first to translate the Bible into an Indian language. His story is told elsewhere in this book, as is that of others, both Continental and British, who shared his view that to put the Bible into the hands of the people was the greatest service that could be rendered to them. It was realized that the printed Word can go where no human being can go; that it remains with its message long after the human messenger has left; that through it, unhampered by the interpretations of men, God can and does speak in the quietness of the heart. Little wonder then that the men who came to India, whether from the Pietist circles of Germany or from any of the evangelical groups in England, put the work of Bible translation in the forefront of their thought and gave to it the best of their time and devotion.

With a zeal that the best Christian judgement has agreed to be unwise, efforts were repeatedly made to have this work

and the work of Bible circulation put under Government patronage. Something is said elsewhere of the beginnings made at the East India Company's College of Fort William in Carey's time to produce Bible translations at the Company's expense (a Government grant was definitely sanctioned towards the translation of the Bible into Malay); but fortunately neither then nor at any later time has there been anything to justify a recent writer's nightmare vision 'of a Simla secretariat engaged under episcopal supervision in translating the Sermon on the Mount into official jargon'.¹ Again and again in the early days the way of the pioneer was made hard by the attitude of the East India Company both in its directorate in England and in India, and there were many complaints, frequently enough well-founded, of treatment that was not merely not friendly but hostile. There can, however, be little doubt that Government indifference and even hostility has been more truly in the interests of a proper appreciation of the value of the Bible than any patronage could have been. Dr. Duff and his friends wished Sir Charles Wood's Dispatch of 1854 to declare that the Bible must be a text-book in every Government school. In 1858 the Church Missionary Society presented a memorial to Queen Victoria urging the compulsory introduction of the Bible. But the Dispatch merely made into an order what was already partly prevailing custom, that a copy of the Bible should be placed in every school library, and that every teacher should have the right to read it out of the regular school hours with any pupil who should express a desire for such instruction.

The characteristic words of Carey have in general been accepted as the expression of the true missionary attitude: 'Let not Government touch my work: it can only succeed in making them hypocrites; I wish to make them Christians.'

Something has been said above of the constant need of revision in translation work, and many references to it will be found in later chapters of this book. Sometimes the call for it has come from the ordinary reader, for one reason or

¹ A. Mayhew, *Christianity and the Government of India*, Preface, p. 13.

another; sometimes it has come from the scholar, who has reached the conclusion that an existing version does not with sufficient accuracy represent the meaning of the original in its best texts. It may, however, be taken for granted that no new version ever displaces an old without pain and doubt in the mind of somebody. It was so when Jerome produced the Vulgate at the end of the fourth century: it was intensely disliked by the majority of readers because it took from them the familiar text they loved. Augustine himself opposed it, as he feared for its effects on the minds of the faithful. He tells the story of a North African congregation which was scandalized by the new version of the Book of Jonah when it was read aloud: Jerome's translation gave 'ivy' instead of the familiar 'gourd', and the congregation was so incensed and shouted 'Gourd! Gourd!' so persistently that the Rector had to read 'ivy',—or, says Augustine, he would have had no congregation left. It was so when the Authorized Version itself appeared in England in 1611. Bishop Westcott quotes the words used at the time by Hugh Broughton, a distinguished Biblical scholar: the translation 'bred in me a sadness that will grieve me while I breathe. It is so ill done. Tell His Majesty that I had rather be rent in pieces with wild horses than any such translation by my consent should be urged upon poor churches. . . . The king meant royally; but froward would be froward'. Dislike of a new version thus of itself proves nothing as to its merits; but a historical survey should at least induce placidity and patience when criticism waxes peculiarly vocal and virulent on any particular version. History repeats itself in this respect with almost predictable precision, and every reviser of the Biblical text must expect at least as much criticism as appreciation of his work. It is unnecessary to analyse the reasons for this; they are sufficiently obvious and are related to the inherent conservatism of most people.

One of the principles of Bible translation that it has thus far been most difficult to observe is that the translation should be into the language of the translator. The bulk of

translation work in India has been done by foreigners, though as Indian Christian scholarship has developed Indian Christians have increasingly been associated with them, and it is not an idle dream to look forward to the day when in each of the great Indian languages there shall be Indian scholars so competent in the sacred languages of Hebrew and Greek and with such genius in their own tongues that versions far more perfect than any foreigner can hope to make will be produced, to become the prized heritage of the Indian Church and to enshrine its spirit, as the Authorized Version has done in English. Meanwhile, in more languages than one, individual Indian Christian scholars have issued their own translations, as for instance in Tamil, where the Rev. N. Gnanapparakasam, a clergyman of the S.P.G., brought out the New Testament in 1922 as a result of thirty years' devoted study; and in Marathi, where Rao Bahadur B. N. Athavle has recently issued the New Testament. All such efforts are welcome signs of vitality in the Indian Christian community and all have their value for the further revisions that will be necessary, as well as for the fuller understanding of the Bible that is brought by any fresh rendering from the original.

CHAPTER I

Serampore

AT THE VERY BEGINNING of the nineteenth century, even before the British and Foreign Bible Society was formed, there were in and near Calcutta two separate groups of translators at work on the Bible, and two separate presses. The one was associated with the College of Fort William, founded in 1800 by Lord Wellesley, the Governor-General of India, against the strong opposition of the Directors, for the education of young English cadets in the Indian languages and for the advancement of Western science and literature. Its Provost was the Rev. David Brown, chaplain since 1786 of the Military Orphanage in Calcutta: its Vice-Provost and Classical Professor was the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, who had come to India in 1797 as a chaplain under the East India Company after a stormy and adventurous youth; and William Carey, Baptist interloper though he was, was appointed as Professor of Bengali and Sanskrit, and later of Marathi. Both Brown and Buchanan had come under the influence of Charles Simeon at Cambridge, and they carried to India a strong evangelical impulse. The College included a Department for Biblical translation, and pandits from many parts of India were attracted to Calcutta by liberal pay to assist in this work. By 1805 a beginning had been made in five languages, Persian and Hindostani, Western Malay, Oriya and Marathi. In 1806, however, the Directors of the East India Company decided to discontinue the translation work and to confine the work of the College within more modest limits.

It is hardly surprising that it was not possible to justify the translation bureau as part of the work of a college intended to prepare the East India Company's cadets, who arrived as

lads of sixteen, for the better discharge of their duties. The civil servants of the Company were to 'study the people and its languages, improve their morals and fortify their minds'. They were to be 'guarded against temptation and corruption with which the nature of the climate and the peculiar depravity of the people of India will assail them'. The religious basis was sufficiently guaranteed by the quality of the staff of the College: and there was splendour of vision in the conception of such a department of research, even if it was far beyond the imagination of the Directors of the Company.

Brown and Buchanan were dismayed at the prospect of the collapse of work begun under such favourable auspices, and they exerted themselves to raise the necessary funds for its private maintenance; subscriptions amounting to £1,600 were secured in India, and the British and Foreign Bible Society, which had come into existence in 1804, gave a most opportune grant of £1,000 to the 'Corresponding Committee' which it had asked Brown and his friends to form.¹ Further grants were made to the 'Corresponding Committee', and work in many languages was vigorously carried on. It was indeed true to say, as was said, of the Bible Society that 'without its fostering care this happy beginning would not have been advanced beyond the threshold'. With its help the 'Corresponding Committee' was able to carry on the work initiated in the College of Fort William and to this day that work has not ceased. This is not the place to tell of the foundation in 1811 of the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society for the supplying of Scriptures to the Christians in India, with Mr. Brown, Secretary of the 'Corresponding Committee', as its first Secretary: in due course, the 'Corresponding Committee' ceased to exist and all the work was concentrated in the Bible Society Auxiliary Committee, which still continues.

¹ The Bible Society also gave liberal help to the other band of translators, at Serampore, notably after the disastrous fire of 1812, when it replaced the whole stock of paper which had been burnt, to the value of about £3,000.

The second company of translators was the famous group of Baptist missionaries at Serampore. Carey had reached Bengal in November 1793, and after five years of uphill work in managing an indigo factory, in preaching, teaching, language study and translation, he and four colleagues who had by that time arrived removed from the territories of the East India Company, where missionary work was forbidden, to the hospitality of the Danish settlement of Serampore; and in 1800 the three friends, Carey, Marshman and Ward, entered upon their great task of translating and printing the Scriptures in many tongues. Their work at Serampore has probably been more fully written of than that of any other group of missionaries, and the magnitude of Carey's achievements in a variety of fields justifies all the attention that has been given to his career. In another chapter something has been said of the work of translation that was more characteristically his, that of the Bible in Bengali, and in that connexion the story of his life has been briefly told. References will also be made in other chapters to his work in some other languages. But it is impossible in a book dealing with the Bible in the Indian languages not also to give some account and express some judgement of the translations into many other languages which issued from Serampore during Carey's lifetime.

The whole enterprise was lifted on to a new financial level when Carey was appointed as Professor of Bengali in the East India Company's College of Fort William, with the salary attached to such a post, and for the rest of his life Carey was not only no charge to the Baptist Missionary Society, but was able to make most generous grants from his own income to the translation work that lay nearest to his heart. An affluence so rare in missionary enterprises encouraged Carey and his colleagues in a linguistic adventure of unparalleled audacity.

In 1803 Carey had written of having the Word of God translated and printed in all the languages of the East within fifteen years; 'on this great work', he says, 'we have fixed our

eyes': and in 1806 a scheme was drawn up by Dr. Claudius Buchanan, by which the work was to be done by the College of Fort William. The College, however, was shortly reduced and, as has been remarked above, such work as was done was through private channels, and most of it through the Serampore missionaries. The method was to employ pandits to write the translations, which were then 'revised and re-revised' by the missionaries. This was done without regard to the entire lack of demand for many of the translations: the missionaries' view was that translations must be made ready, in the hope that God would subsequently open the way for them to be of use. They generally began with the New Testament, and there is something very impressive about the array of languages in which they issued translations of the New Testament, with a title-page, 'The Holy Bible. Volume V', thus showing not obscurely the ground they meant to cover.

Sir George Grierson (*Indian Antiquary*, 1903) in quoting the Serampore Memoir of 1816, signed by W. Carey, J. Marshman and W. Ward, refers to it as 'the first attempt at a systematic survey of the languages of India'. They had previously regarded eight or nine languages as collateral branches springing from the great philological root of Sanskrit, the rest being merely varieties of Hindi, many of them mere jargons. But they had been constrained to relinquish these ideas. They are more than dialects: they are languages—and they give specimens of thirty-three, with a careful analysis of them. In the 1820 memoir a coloured map of the languages of India is given, and they report the starting of a paper factory; as a result of twelve years of experiment 'paper equally impervious to the worm with English paper, and of a firmer texture, though inferior in colour, is now made of materials the growth of India'. In the years between 1801, when the first Bengali New Testament was finished, and 1832, 'more than 212,000 volumes in 40 different languages issued from the Serampore press. For these languages types were designed and cut for the first

time, ranging from movable metal types for Chinese, to types in the Sarada character of Kasmiri. Not only were there published translations of the Scriptures, but also texts, grammars and translations in various languages'.

Impressive though this achievement was and splendid as was the faith and vision of the men responsible for it, there can be no doubt that this policy involved an enormous waste of energy: of at least a dozen of these versions it was said over eighty years ago that they were of negligible value: many of them had never been circulated, and it was doubtful whether some of them were intelligible to any portion of the population. This applies particularly to a number of dialects of Hindi into which the New Testament was translated, chiefly between 1820 and 1827. But even in languages on which Carey did work of which so strong a criticism could not fairly be passed, it seems true that again and again his approach was far too amateur for work of the highest value to result: no man can have the scholarship in forty languages that Biblical translation demands, even if his work be mainly that of revising versions produced by pandits—[and where linguistically the translations were intelligible, again and again the defective knowledge of the missionaries placed them at the mercy of the Brahmin pandits, whose whole background of thought made it impossible for them not to misinterpret the Christian message even if, as was not always the case, they were honestly anxious to be 'tradutori, non traditori'.] Neither their own qualifications, great though these were, nor the resources of Indian scholarship then available, nor indeed the state of philological knowledge, were sufficient to justify Carey and his colleagues in attempting the translation of the Scriptures into so many different languages. So much a dispassionate judgement must say; but the marvel is that any man could accomplish what Carey did, and not that on work of such range it should be necessary to pass a few criticisms: no criticisms make Carey less than a man of majestic intellectual and spiritual stature, and none leave us without the mingled sense of shame and inspiration as we

look at his unfaltering energy and devotion. 'The world is my parish', said John Wesley in words that might be a tocsin for all evangelists and missionaries, and the mere list of Bible translations made and edited by Carey at Serampore suggests that he too found even India too narrow for his zeal: he must needs stretch out and include China and Java and Malaya and Persia in his scope.

And translation was but a part, if a most important part, of his many-sided activities. As educationist, author, naturalist, botanist, pioneer in missionary method, Carey was of outstanding eminence, and his example was the means of firing the zeal of unnumbered individuals and of awakening the Christian Church to a sense of its duty to the world: the watchwords of his epoch-marking sermon at Nottingham, 'Expect great things from God', 'Attempt great things for God', were indeed the guiding principles on which his courageous life was lived. Sydney Smith's notorious and ill-bred attack on the Serampore missionaries in the *Edinburgh Review* of May 1808 is still worth reading as an example of brilliant and unscrupulous invective; it drew a reply from Southey in the *Quarterly Review* a year later, which, though less vigorous in style, admirably summarizes their achievement at that date: he concludes his article by saying: 'The anti-missionaries cull out from the letters and journals of the missionaries all that is ridiculous, sectarian and trifling; call them fools, mad-men, tinkers, Calvinists and schismatics, and keep out of sight their love of men and their zeal for God, their self-devotedness, indefatigable industry, unequalled learning. These "low-born and low-bred mechanics" have translated the whole Bible into Bengalee, and have by this time printed it. They are printing the New Testament in Sanscrit, Oriya, Marathi, Hindustani, Gujarati; and are translating it into Persian, Telinga, Carnata, Chinese, the language of the Sikhs and the Burmese. Extraordinary as this is, it will appear still more so when it is remembered that of these men one was originally a shoemaker, another a printer at Hull, and the third the master of a charity school at

Bristol. Only fourteen years have elapsed since Carey set foot in India, and in that time these missionaries have acquired this gift of tongues. In fourteen years these "low-born, low-bred mechanics" have done more to spread the knowledge of the Scriptures among the heathen than has been accomplished or even attempted by all the world beside.'

Before passing on to the living languages of India, something must be said of Carey's work in Sanskrit, a language in which it will be remembered he was appointed Professor in the College of Fort William, and in which he was very far from being a mere amateur. It probably ranks next to Bengali in the value of the work he did in it.

The recognition of Sanskrit as the key language of India—though it did not prove to be quite such a master-key to fit every linguistic lock as Carey originally supposed—made it inevitable that translation work into it should be begun at an early date: Carey himself made and wrote the translation and the New Testament in Sanskrit was sent to the press in 1806 and was published in 1808. It was thought that, though Sanskrit is no longer a spoken language in India, save in the discussions of scholars, it was known to all pandits throughout the land and by them could be translated without difficulty into all the other languages. The Old Testament followed, the whole Bible being finished by 1818, and a great deal of revision being done by Carey before his death in 1834. In the field of Sanskrit scholarship, of course, Carey is not to be regarded as a pioneer: his work was only made possible by the original researches into Sanskrit grammar by Sir William Jones (1746-94) (the founder of the Royal Asiatic Society, and Judge of the Supreme Court) and the work of Dr. Williams (afterwards the first Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford) in printing. Carey was able to secure the services of the Indian mechanic who had assisted Williams in constructing his type fount, and in this way prepared founts in many different characters. The translation proved to be intelligible and is said to have been

welcomed by the Brahmins. (Subsequent work in Sanskrit translation was done by Yates in Calcutta, his version of the New Testament being published in 1841, and on his death in the Red Sea on his way home the work was carried on by Wenger, various portions being issued in the Bengali character up to 1860. Portions were issued in the Devanagari character, till in 1883 the whole New Testament appeared in Devanagari.)

The following is a list of Bible translations made and edited by Carey:¹

- First Published in*
- 1801. Bengali. New Testament. Old Testament in 1802-9.
 - 1811. Ooriya. New Testament. Old Testament in 1819.
 - 1824. Maghadi. New Testament only.
 - 1815-19. Assamese. New Testament. Old Testament in 1832.
 - 1824. Khasi.
 - 1814-24. Manipoori.
 - 1808. SANSKRIT. New Testament. Old Testament in 1811-18.
 - 1809-11. Hindi. New Testament. Old Testament in 1813-18.
 - 1822-32. Bruj-bhasa. New Testament only.
 - 1815-22. Kanouji. New Testament only.
 - 1820. Khosali. Gospel of Matthew only.
 - 1822. Oodeypoori. New Testament only.
 - 1815. Jeypoori. New Testament only.
 - 1821. Bhugeli. New Testament only.
 - 1821. Marwari. New Testament only.
 - 1822. Haraoti. New Testament only.
 - 1823. Bikaneri. New Testament only.
 - 1823. Oojeini. New Testament only.
 - 1824. Bhatti. New Testament only.
 - 1832. Palpa. New Testament only.
 - 1826. Kumaoni. New Testament only.
 - 1832. Gurhwali. New Testament only.
 - 1821. Nepalese. New Testament only.
 - 1811. Marathi. New Testament. Old Testament in 1820.
 - 1820. Goojarati. New Testament only.
 - 1819. Konkan. New Testament. Pentateuch in 1821.
 - 1815. Panjabi. New Testament. Pentateuch and historical books in 1822.
 - 1819. Mooltani. New Testament.

¹ Smith's *Life of Carey* (Everyman's Library, p. 177).

*First
Published in*

1825. Sindhi. Gospel of Matthew only.
 1820. Kashmeeri. New Testament; and Old Testament to
 Second Book of Kings.
 1820-26. Dogri. New Testament only.
 1819. Pushtoo. New Testament and Old Testament historical
 books.
 1815. Baloochi. New Testament. Three Gospels.
 1818. Telugoo. New Testament. Pentateuch in 1820.
 1822. Kanarese. New Testament only.
 Maldivian. Four Gospels.

Edited and Printed only by Carey

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Persian. | Singhalese. |
| Hindostani. | Chinese (Dr. Marshman's). |
| Malayalam. | Javanese. |
| Burmese—Matthew's Gospel. | Malay. |

Note. The transliteration of Indian terms has changed considerably in the last two hundred years. In this book the forms approved by modern scholarship are used, except in quotations from earlier writings.

CHAPTER II

Bengali

ACCORDING TO THE 1931 CENSUS, Bengali is the language of some 53½ million people, over 46 million of whom are in the Province of Bengal. It belongs to the eastern group of the Indo-Aryan family of languages and has a classical literature dating from about the fourteenth century. The most significant fact, however, about Bengali is the literary renaissance that took place at the beginning of the nineteenth century, mainly as a result of the renewed interest in Sanskrit that had its source and centre in the College of Fort William, founded in Calcutta by Lord Wellesley: no modern Indian language has been so prolific as Bengali, and it is probably true that in none has more valuable literature been produced. Modern Bengali has unquestionably suffered from the defects of its second birth: in it, as in other Indian languages, there has been an almost irresistible tendency to assume that the greater the Sanskrit element in the vocabulary the more dignified and respectable is the style: but it is generally agreed that the true genius of the language can only be realized by keeping closer to the speech of the people. This is not the place in which to write of modern Bengali literature, with its outstanding name of Rabindranath Tagore, nor of the bearing of this on Bible translation: but it is appropriate thus briefly to recall the importance in the Bengali renaissance of the work of the pioneers at the College of Fort William, and of William Carey, who has been called the creator of Bengali prose, and whose most notable work of translation was that of the Bible into Bengali.

William Carey was born on August 17th, 1761, in the village of Paulerspury, in Northamptonshire. His father was at that time a weaver, though six years later he became the

village schoolmaster and parish clerk. At the age of sixteen William was apprenticed to a shoemaker, nine miles away, as for some years he suffered acutely if he was exposed to the sun and some indoor occupation was therefore necessary; for twelve years the making and repairing of shoes was his main work. In 1779, however, he underwent the religious experience that was to dominate his whole life and that at once made him a preacher and teacher in all his spare time. He became a Baptist, and by the age of twenty found himself master of his own business and husband of a wife—a wife who was to be one of his chief problems for twenty years, till at last her mental trouble proved fatal. In his cobbler's shed while at his work he gave himself to study with a book always before him: he learnt Latin and Greek with thoroughness and by dint of much ingenuity; Hebrew soon followed, and various modern languages. In 1785 after years of preaching in neighbouring villages he became the Baptist minister at Moulton in Northamptonshire. There the little congregation could contribute only about £10 a year for his maintenance, but he was fortunately able to supplement this by becoming also a schoolmaster. It was there, in teaching the children geography and the Bible, that the missionary motive became the irresistible passion of his life. He first broached it publicly in a Ministers' Meeting at Northampton in 1786: was not the command given to the Apostles, to teach all nations, obligatory on all succeeding ministers to the end of the world, seeing that the accompanying promise was of equal extent? The Chairman rebuked him as 'a miserable enthusiast' for asking such a question: 'Sit down, young man; when it pleases God to convert the heathen, He will do it without your help: certainly nothing can be done before another Pentecost, when an effusion of miraculous gifts, including the gift of tongues, will give effect to the commission of Christ, as at first.' But Carey, nothing daunted, put his case in the famous survey, which a friend's generosity enabled him to publish in 1792 at Leicester, whither he had removed in 1789: '*An enquiry into the obligations of Christians to*

use means for the Conversion of the Heathens, in which the Religious State of the Different Nations of the World, the Success of Former Undertakings, and the Practicability of Further Undertakings, are considered by William Carey.' He concluded with the practical suggestions of systematic prayer and the formation of a society (preferably catholic in constitution), with regular subscriptions from all its members for village preaching and foreign missions. And on May 31st, 1792, he preached a sermon at Nottingham on the text Isaiah liv. 2, 3, with the two great words, 'Expect great things from God', 'Attempt great things for God', which have never since ceased to challenge the Christian conscience. Within a few months the Baptist Missionary Society was formed, and in the following January (1793) Carey was appointed as a missionary to the East Indies, together with John Thomas, a ship's surgeon who had already been in Bengal, and whose knowledge of conditions there suggested that as a more suitable field, for instance, than Tahiti or West Africa, to which Carey's mind had first been drawn. Before he sailed he had met Ward, printer and editor in Hull, and said to him: 'If the Lord bless us, we shall want a person of your business to enable us to print the Scriptures: I hope you will come after us.' The result was that Ward joined Carey five years later; thus the famous 'Serampore Trio' began to take shape before even the first of them had left England: Marshman was one of the company that travelled out with Ward.

In 1793 the House of Commons had revised the Charter of the East India Company, but, in spite of the efforts of Wilberforce, it had refused to accept a clause providing for the sending out of 'a sufficient number of schoolmasters and missionaries to be maintained by the Governments of the Presidencies', and the Directors of the Company were firm in their refusal to grant licences to missionary applicants: without a licence it was illegal to land in the Company's territories and any unlicensed person was liable to summary expulsion. It is difficult to draw a clear picture of the vacillating policy of the East India Company, which at its foundation

had professed a desire to extend the Christian religion: but at this time, in spite of its encomiums on the missionary Schwartz in South India, it held 'the sending out of missionaries into our eastern possessions to be the maddest, most extravagant, most costly, most indefensible project which has ever been suggested by a moonstruck fanatic. Such a scheme is pernicious, imprudent, useless, harmful, dangerous, profitless, fantastic. It strikes against all reason and sound policy, it brings the peace and safety of our possessions into peril'.

Thomas and Carey embarked at Gravesend on the East Indiaman *Oxford*, whose captain had agreed to take them on board without the licence that was required by the East India Company's rules: but he put them ashore at Plymouth, alarmed by a pseudonymous letter. After a trying delay, they succeeded in June in getting a passage on a Danish East Indiaman, which in due time, November 11th, 1793—a notable date—landed them at Calcutta. Only their obscurity allowed them to remain in Calcutta without the required licence; but it was necessary for them to find some means of support, and now and always Thomas was no help in this, but rather the reverse. However, these problems were solved early in 1794, when Carey and Thomas became assistants in the indigo factory at Malda, at the invitation of Mr. G. Udny. He wrote in his Journal at that time, 'If my situation at Malda should be tolerable, I most certainly will publish the Bible in numbers'. And a little later, 'I am resolved to write to the Society that my circumstances are such that I do not need future help from them, and to devote a sum monthly for the printing of the Bengali Bible'. He acted on this resolve, at the same time expressing his eager desire to retain the same relation to the Society as if he needed support from them. In his Journal of April 19th, 1794, he describes the distractions of the 'year and nineteen days' since he had left Leicester: 'Since that I have had hurrying up and down: a five months' imprisonment with carnal men on board the ship: five more learning the language; my moonshi not

understanding English sufficiently to interpret my preaching'; and a few days later he gives a description of his first attempts: 'though imperfect in the knowledge of the language yet, with the help of moonshi, I conversed with two Brahmans in the presence of about two hundred people, about the things of God.'

Amidst sickness and domestic calamity, Carey never neglected his one great concern of Bible translation, each new portion being tested by being read to hundreds of Bengalis. His own account of some of his problems as contained in a letter to a friend might be taken as typical of translation problems in many other languages besides Bengali. 'Now I must mention some of the difficulties under which we labour, particularly myself. The language spoken by the natives of this part, though Bengali, is yet so different from the language itself, that, though I can preach an hour with tolerable freedom so that all who speak the language well, or can write or read, perfectly understand me, yet the poor labouring people can understand but little; and though the language is rich, beautiful and expressive, yet the poor people, whose whole concern has been to get a little rice to satisfy their wants, or to cheat their oppressive merchants and zameendars, have scarcely a word in use about religion. They have no word for love, for repent, and a thousand other things; and every idea is expressed either by quaint phrases or tedious circumlocutions. A native who speaks the language well finds it a year's work to obtain their idiom. This sometimes discourages me much; but, blessed be God, I feel a growing desire to be always abounding in the work of the Lord, and I know that my labour shall not be in vain in the Lord.' He tells how the easiest way of learning is to listen to children, 'for they will catch up every idiom in a little time. My children can speak nearly as well as the natives, and know many things in Bengali which they do not know in English'.

He speedily realized that for the proper learning of Bengali he must know Sanskrit and he set to work on it with

his accustomed thoroughness. By the beginning of 1798 he writes: 'I have nearly translated the Sanskrit grammar and dictionary into English, and have made considerable progress in compiling a dictionary, Sanskrit, including Bengali and English.' Reference is made in another chapter to his work on the Sanskrit Bible; here it is merely part of the apparatus for his Bengali work. He was already making arrangements for printing the Bengali New Testament and had finished his first draft translation of the Old Testament with the exception of the historical books. He described his translation method: 'I employ a pandit . . . with whom I go through the whole in as exact a manner as I can. He judges of the style and syntax, and I of the faithfulness of the translation. I have, however, translated several chapters together, which have not required any alteration in the syntax whatever: yet I always submit this article entirely to his judgment. I can also, by hearing him read, judge whether he understands his subject by his accenting his reading properly and laying the emphasis on the right words. If he fails in this, I immediately suspect the translation. . . .'

He was delighted to be able to purchase a wooden printing press in Calcutta for £40: it was set up in his house at Mudnabati in 1798 and was not unnaturally regarded at first as the god whom the English worship. But not for much longer was Carey to remain in his anomalous position as indigo planter, doing the work and having the spirit, but not allowed to have the name, of a missionary. The new recruits for the Baptist Mission were sent out on an American ship and were advised not to attempt to land at Calcutta, but to go to Serampore under the Danish flag, as Christian missionaries. From the standpoint of the English rulers, Serampore and similar settlements must have been most uncomfortable caves of Adullam, affording a ready refuge to all who for any reason wished to avoid the English police; but in sheltering this little group of missionaries it rendered the best possible amends to its neighbours.

The new missionaries were given a cordial reception, the Danish Governor himself attending the service they conducted in their own house on the Sunday following their arrival in October 1799. Carey had little hesitation in joining them, though it meant leaving property worth £500 and the mission work in which he had been engaged. 'At Serampore', he wrote, 'we may settle as missionaries, which is not allowed here; and the great ends of the mission, particularly the printing of the Scriptures, seem much more likely to be answered in that situation than in this. There also brother Ward can have the inspection of the press; whereas here we should be deprived of his important assistance. In that part of the country the inhabitants are far more numerous than in this; and other missionaries may there be permitted to join us, which here it seems they will not'. And so on January 10th, 1800, Carey began the career in Serampore which was to make it the most famous and influential mission station in the world, from which Scriptures in many tongues were to be issued in an unceasing stream throughout his life.

The issues began that year, 1800; the first book of Biblical translation was the Gospel of Matthew, to which were 'annexed some of the most remarkable prophecies in the Old Testament respecting Christ': Ward's note in his Journal on the choice of Matthew for immediate publication is: 'Matthew . . . which we considered of importance as containing a complete life of the Redeemer.' Five hundred copies were issued, and in 1801 they were followed by the complete New Testament. Ward had written to England in September 1800 about its approaching publication: 'I love England, I love you, and many more friends at Hull; but to give to a man a New Testament, who never saw it, who has been reading lies as the word of God; to give him those everlasting lines which angels would be glad to read: this, this is my blessed work. If it should be long on the earth, it will bear a precious crop, sooner or later. If a man should not know the value of it immediately, a leaf, a verse, may some time

be more precious to him than a load of hay. It may, it *will*, enlighten the ignorant, convert the froward, raise the ruined, comfort the distressed, and support the dying.' On February 7th the first bound copy of the New Testament was reverently offered to God, and Carey preached an appropriate sermon from the text, 'Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom' (Col. iii. 11). It was republished in 1806, and as he lay dying in 1834 his last work was the reading of the proofs of the eighth edition. The Old Testament was ready in 1809: the whole translation had been written by Carey's own hand, and before his death he had prepared five editions of it. That in spite of all this labour, his version has in later years been superseded is no cause for surprise or regret: he would surely himself be content to know that others have been able to make good use of the foundations which he so diligently laid.

Before Carey's arrival in India, some attempts had been made at translation by Thomas, the ship's surgeon who was later to be Carey's colleague and one among his thorns in the flesh: he had circulated in MSS. his version of Matthew, Mark, James and Psalms, with parts of Genesis and the Prophets. In 1796 he had written: 'I would give a million pounds sterling, if I had it, to see a Bengali Bible. O most merciful God, what an inestimable blessing will it be to these millions! The angels of heaven will look down upon it, to fill their mouths with new praises and adorations.' But his zeal did not compensate for his lack of linguistic ability, and Carey seems wisely to have ignored this work and to have begun an entirely fresh translation. And while Carey was bringing out new editions of his own translation, the Calcutta Auxiliary of the Bible Society issued a version, first of the four Gospels and then of the whole New Testament, the work of Mr. Ellerton, a devout indigo planter of Malda, between 1816 and 1819. His translation of John had previously been published at the expense of the Countess of Loudon for the use of her school at Barrackpur. In 1819 and 1820 Dr. Yates, who had come out in 1813 to the

Baptist Mission as the first missionary holding a licence under the new charter of the East India Company, collaborated with Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the great Hindu reformer, in issuing a Harmony of the Gospels, and in 1827 he published a translation of Psalms, followed in 1833 by the New Testament. This was published by the Baptist Mission, but when a second edition was called for, it was issued by the Bible Society in 1837, and copies were sent to all missionaries in Bengal, with a request for criticisms and suggestions.

The spirit in which Yates approached his work is illustrated by words that he wrote shortly after Carey's death: 'I am aiming to improve on two of the greatest men of modern times, Dr. Carey and Henry Martyn.¹ When I think of it, I am filled with astonishment at myself, and am ready to conclude that I am guilty of great temerity. I am ready to say, What am I, and what is my father's house, that I should be employed in making the word of God more intelligible to millions, who are sitting in darkness and the shadow of death? Yet, thanks be unto the Giver of every good and perfect gift, that He has condescended to teach me and assist me, and work out by me His own glory and the salvation of immortal souls. I feel that there is much to be done, and am determined to do what I can, that, as I am benefited by the labours of others, so others may be by mine.' And in his diary in 1839 when he was set aside wholly for translation work, he writes: 'Now, oh, now, for energy of body and mind to do justice to this great work! O Lord, all my sufficiency is from Thee! To Thee I look—and with humility on Thee I depend. Let that Spirit that dictated the word, guide me; and all will be well.' In 1844 Yates' revision of Carey's Old Testament was published. By this time he had been joined by Dr. Wenger, who commenced further revision in 1847, and by 1862 the whole Bible was brought out, a fourth revision by Wenger appearing in 1874. It is impossible to attempt any account, and

¹ He was translating the New Testament into Hindostani as well as into Bengali.

still less appraisal, of the distinguished work of Yates and Wenger, or of the contributions made by R. P. Greaves of the C.M.S., who issued an experimental, more literal, version of the synoptic Gospels in 1870, and died in the same year; or of the work of the great Revision Committee, with Dr. G. H. Rouse of the Baptist Mission as chief reviser, which, after the version of 1897 by Rouse and Mathura Nath, brought out the eleventh edition of the Bengali Bible in 1909. It is of interest, however, to note the appearance in 1895 of a translation of Matthew prepared and issued by non-Christian Indians in Calcutta, with copious notes—the product of the same liberal school of thought, whose founder, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, had collaborated with Dr. Yates in producing a Bengali Harmony of the Gospels seventy-five years earlier.

Before the Bengali New Testament had appeared, Ward had written with sublime faith of its sure worth: 'it will bear a precious crop, sooner or later.' Many years later several villages were found near Dacca in Eastern Bengal, 'where the peasants had given up idol worship, were renowned for their truthfulness, and called themselves *Satya gurus*, as searching for a true Teacher come from God. They traced their new faith to a much-worn book kept in a wooden box in one of their villages. No one could say whence it had come; all they knew was that they had possessed it and studied it for many years. It proved to be Carey's first Bengali version of the New Testament'.¹

In addition to the ordinary Bengali spoken by Hindus, there is a form of the language spoken by the Mohammedans in Lower and Eastern Bengal containing a large admixture of Urdu words; the terminology thus differs in many respects, and naturally not least so in religious matters, from Bengali proper. To meet the need of this great population, and in spite of the arguments of linguistic purists who have urged from time to time that such a dialect ought not to be encouraged, the Gospels and Acts, as well as Genesis, Psalms and

¹ T. E. Slater, *The Bible in India*, p. 27 (pamphlet, now out of print).

Isaiah, have been produced in this *Musalmani-Bengali* and have been very widely circulated. The first translations were made in 1854; S. J. Hill, of the London Missionary Society, took up the work that was interrupted by the death of J. Paterson of the same Society, who had begun by translating Luke's Gospel. Revised editions were issued by the Calcutta Auxiliary, and from that day to this there has been a steady demand for these Scriptures.

CHAPTER III

Urdu and Hindi

IT IS A LITTLE DIFFICULT for the student to avoid confusion of thought in connexion with the great languages that are spoken in North India in the basins of the Jamna and the Ganges, from the boundary of Bengali in the east to that of Panjabi in the west. It is not merely that here as elsewhere there is some fusion where language areas meet, so that no hard-and-fast line can be drawn between one language and another; it is partly that those who have worked in the languages have not always used the same words to describe them, partly that some terms are used in a double sense. An instance of this is found in the differing uses of the term 'Eastern Hindi' in the Census Report of 1931, and in the *Historical Catalogue of Printed Bibles* (London, 1911), which follows the system of classification adopted by Sir George Grierson in the *Linguistic Survey of India* and assumed in his articles in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. This is not the place to go into the reasons for such differences among scholars, but some account must be given of the relation of the languages to one another, and in what is said here Sir George Grierson's classification is followed.

Modern Indo-Aryan languages fall into three groups: (1) an outer band, including such languages as *Bengali*, *Assamese*, *Oriya*, *Marathi*, *Gujarati*, Bible translation in which is treated in other chapters; (2) an intermediate band, which includes *Panjabi* of the Central Panjab on the West, and *Eastern Hindi*, from Cawnpore to Benares on the East and West Bihar; (3) the language of the Midland (the area roughly from the Eastern Panjab to Cawnpore, and including the Doab—the country between the rivers Jamna and Ganges—and the country immediately to the North and South of it), to which the name *Western Hindi* is given. The

total number of those whose mother-tongue is Panjabi is given in the 1931 Census as nearly 16 millions; those whose mother-tongue is Hindi, Eastern and Western, number over 79 millions.

Eastern Hindi has three dialects, none of which is of great importance in the history of Bible translation, though *Awadhi*, spoken in Oudh, has a great poetical literature, including the *Ramayan* of Tulsidas, written in the first half of the seventeenth century, and popular through the whole of Hindi-speaking India; the Serampore missionaries issued one or two Gospels in it about 1820. A little later they issued the New Testament in the *Bagheli* dialect, spoken in Baghelkhand, south-west of Allahabad. In *Chhattisgarhi*, spoken round Raipur in the Central Provinces, the Gospels of Mark, Luke and John have been issued since 1904, the translation of Mark being made by a German missionary, Julius Lohr, assisted by an Indian Christian, Benjamin. Lohr died in 1904, but his work was carried on by Benjamin and others, and over 35,000 copies of the Gospels have been circulated.

Western Hindi has four main dialects: (1) *Bundeli* of Bundelkhand, the district lying west of Baghelkhand in the Central India agency; no Bible translation has been done in this. (2) *Braj Bhasha*, spoken in the Central Doab and the country immediately south of it, its headquarters being round Muttra (the ancient Mathura). In this the Gospels were issued in 1822 and the New Testament in 1824 by the Serampore Press; the translation had been made by J. Chamberlain of the Baptist Mission several years before, as he discovered that the Serampore Hindi version was not understood near Agra, where he was stationed. He had also translated part of the Old Testament before his death in 1821, but nothing further was printed. (3) *Kanauji*, spoken in the Lower Doab, from near Etawah to about Cawnpore. The Serampore missionaries published the New Testament in this in 1821. It and the Braj Bhasha are the classical literary dialects of Western Hindi, as Awadhi is of Eastern Hindi. (4) *Hindustani*, primarily the language of the people round Delhi, where it

shades off into Panjabi. As the language of the Delhi bazaar, it became the *lingua franca* of the Mogul camp and thence was carried in all directions to fulfil the same function over the greater part of India. It has several varieties:

(a) *Dakhini*—‘southern’—is the form that used to be current in the Deccan and in South India and that in which the Scriptures were first translated. Benjamin Schultze of the Tranquebar Mission, who had completed Ziegenbalg’s work of translating the Tamil Bible, and who also did some work in Telugu, was responsible for the first versions of the first chapters of Genesis, printed at the Oriental Press, Halle, in 1745, in Arabic character, followed by Psalms, Epistles and Gospels in succeeding years. Like most of Schultze’s work, however, this was found to be very defective, and in 1839 and the following years Henry Martyn’s Urdu version of the Gospels was taken and adapted to the dialect of South Indian Musalmans by Thomas Jackson, a lieutenant in the Madras Army; they were edited and in part revised by other officers, C. A. Browne, acting adjutant-general, and G. Rowlandson, colonel; a further revision was to have been made in 1852 by Lieutenant D. S. Hughes, but he died at the outset of the work. The Madras Auxiliary of the Bible Society printed these. In the Old Testament a revision committee had been appointed in 1844, which included Army officers and missionaries, and in 1867 the New Testament was issued, based upon the Urdu Version. Of this committee E. Sell (later Canon) was one of the members, and in 1878 his version of Proverbs was issued in Persian character. Another notable name is that of M. G. Goldsmith (later Canon), who began a series of revisions in 1885. From 1905, however, publication of the Scriptures in Dakhini has been discontinued: it has been superseded by Urdu, which is now taught in all the Mohammedan schools in South India.

(b) *Urdu*, the language of the *urdū-e mu’alla*, or Royal Camp, is the standard form of speech used by Mohammedans. The language remains Indo-Aryan in its grammar and essential characteristics, but it has a large element of words imported

from Persian and Arabic, through contact with the Mogul Court. Another form of the dialect, Rēkhta, was used for poetry, and Urdu prose literature dates in effect from the English occupation of India and the need of text-books for the College of Fort William.

(c) *Hindi*, using the term as commonly understood, not with reference to the great language groups of 'Eastern Hindi' and 'Western Hindi', but as one of the dialects of Hindostani, was invented at the same time as Urdu prose by the teachers at Fort William. It was intended to be Hindostani for the use of Hindus: it was purged of Arabic and Persian words, and Sanskrit and Prakrit derivatives were as far as possible substituted. It is thus an artificial product, but it so admirably serves the need for a *lingua franca* that it is 'the recognised vehicle for writing prose by those inhabitants of Northern India who do not employ Urdu'. It is rapidly becoming standardized and increasingly popular and understood owing to its use in Hindi daily newspapers and popular magazines.

As Grierson sums it up: 'We must define Urdu as the Persianized Hindostani of educated Musalmans, while Hindi is the Sanskritized Hindostani of educated Hindus.' The one is written naturally in the Persian character, the other in Devanagari or one of its related alphabets. "'Hindostani" implies the great *lingua franca* of India, capable of being written in either character, and, without purism, avoiding the excessive use of either Persian or Sanskrit words when employed for literature.' It is not, however, a literary language, and when used for literary purposes it becomes in effect either Urdu or Hindi.

With this brief introduction, we may now turn to the work of Bible translation in Urdu, leaving till later in the chapter some account of Hindi translation. We have already seen that as early as 1741 Schultze had produced a translation of the New Testament, which was printed at Halle in 1745; but this was in Dakhini, current only in South India, and in itself it was not a good translation. The real story of

Urdu translation begins with the arrival in India of Henry Martyn, though the four Gospels had been translated by 'learned natives of the College of Fort William; revised and compared with the original Greek by William Hunter, Esq.' and had been issued in the Nagari character from the college press of Fort William in 1805. Henry Martyn sailed for India in 1805 and within four years of his arrival, and within five of his first study of the language, he had completed his Urdu translation of the New Testament, an achievement which Dr. Weitbrecht has described as 'unique in the history of Bible translation'. Martyn, born at Truro in 1781, the son of a mine-agent, had been educated at Truro Grammar School and St. John's College, Cambridge, and in 1801 was senior wrangler and first Smith's Prizeman, becoming a Fellow of his college in 1802. His intention had been to go to the Bar, but in the autumn of 1802 he came under the influence of Charles Simeon. He was greatly impressed by the story of William Carey's work, and later on by the life of David Brainerd, the missionary to North American Indians—a record inspiring to Carey himself and to others of the pioneers in India—and the result was that he determined to be a missionary. He was therefore ordained and served for some time as Simeon's curate. He had to change his original purpose of offering to the Church Missionary Society on account of family troubles which made it necessary for him to earn enough to support his unmarried sister as well as himself, and he therefore obtained a chaplaincy under the East India Company. He was stationed successively near Serampore, at Dinapur and at Cawnpore, adding much missionary work to the duties of his chaplaincy. Ill health made a sea-voyage desirable and he decided to go to Persia to perfect his Persian translation. He left Calcutta in January 1811: on October 16th, 1812, he died in Persia. This is not the place to give any account of his heroic life, his 'burning out for God', in accordance with his own resolve expressed two days after his arrival in Calcutta; but his brief missionary career, so full of achievement, following upon so

distinguished an academic course, created a profound impression in Western lands, and for the century and a quarter that has passed since his death the story of his life has proved to be one of the most fertilizing influences in the missionary life of Christendom. His translations of the New Testament into Arabic and Persian with their problems of relationship with the new Arab convert, Sabat, lie outside the scope of this book.

His great work of translation in India was into Hindostani, or Urdu, as it is now called. He had turned his mind to Hindostani, Persian and Arabic, rather than to Sanskrit, in obedience to a request in June 1807 from David Brown, Chaplain and Provost of the College of Fort William, who had been greatly influenced by the grandiose schemes of Claudius Buchanan, fresh from his researches in Travancore, for 'a British Propaganda for uniting all the talents and industry in India.' The part allotted to Martyn was to translate the New Testament into Hindostani (Urdu), and supervise translations into Persian and Arabic, with the help of Mirza Fitrat and Sabat; and he accepted it with joy and with characteristic humility. He had commenced his studies in Urdu before leaving England in 1805, reading for two months with Mr. Gilchrist, the leading scholar of that day. He occupied himself with it on the nine months' voyage to India: 'Learning Hindustani words', he wrote, 'which, however dry an employment in itself, is made so delightful to me by the mercy of God that I could be always at it.' By October 1806 he was busy translating the first chapter of Acts: 'I did it with some care, and wrote it all out in the Persian character: yet still I am surprised I did so little.'

He brought to his task an exactness of scholarship such as had not been at the command of the Serampore missionaries, and which was indeed far in advance of that of most if not all other missionaries of that generation. He had not realized that in entering upon this work he was encroaching upon a field which the Serampore missionaries had looked upon almost as their own preserve, and that there was some danger of friction and rivalry even in holy things when it was

announced so impressively by Buchanan that this work of translation was to be conducted under the auspices of the newly formed Corresponding Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society and that Martyn was to do work upon which Marshman had himself started. The story of those days reflects nothing but honour upon all those chiefly concerned: 'most cordially do I wish to remain in the background to the end of life', he wrote; but he was committed to this great work, and he went on with it, determined that his version should have 'perspicuity, grace and dignity'. How successful he was is indicated by the fact that his translation, far from perfect though a first translation must be, has been largely used in all subsequent revisions, and that it was the basis of what for years was the most acceptable Hindi version of the New Testament; its linguistic quality is shown by the fact that it was set as a text-book in Mohammedan schools in Agra. No trouble was too great to ensure fidelity in his renderings, and he refused to be hurried. He wrote: 'You chide me for not trusting my Hindoostanee to the press. I congratulate myself. Last week we began the correction of it: present—a Seid of Delhi, a Poet of Lucknow, three or four literati of Patna, and Babir Ali in the chair. Sabat and myself assessors. After four days' hard labour, five hours each day, we reached to the end of the second chapter, so when you will have a gospel I do not know.'

How much use Martyn made of the previous version of the Gospels by Hunter is not clear: his chief assistant in his own work was the Mohammedan scholar, Mirza Fitrat, who had been chiefly responsible for Hunter's version; the first draft of the New Testament was finished in March 1808, and after the minutest and most rigorous revision was issued by the Serampore Press in Arabic character in 1814 'for the British and Foreign Bible Society'. Martyn himself 'highly approved' of this, for 'I wish to see honour put upon so god-like an institution': (the sheets of the original impression had been almost all destroyed by the disastrous fire at the Press in March 1812). On the title-page it is described as 'trans-

lated from the original Greek' by Martyn 'and afterwards carefully revised with the assistance of Mirza Fitrat and other learned natives'.

The spirit with which he did his work has been summed up by the late Canon Edmonds: 'He put his soul into his sentences, and He that dwelt in his soul condescended to dwell in his sentences too.' His own Journal is full of revealing touches. 'So delightfully engaged in the translation: the days seem to have passed like a moment. . . . What do I not owe the Lord for permitting me to take part in a translation of His Word! Never did I see such wonders and wisdom and love in the blessed book as since I have been obliged to study every expression; and it is a delightful reflection that death cannot deprive us of the pleasure of studying its mysteries.' His keen mind was fascinated by philological problems, and he recognized the peril of becoming worldly minded even in the doing of a task which he so fully felt to be sacred. He wrote: 'May the Lord, in mercy to my soul, save me from setting up an idol of any sort in His place; as I do, by preferring even a work professedly done for Him, to communion with Him. . . . How obstinate is the reluctance of the natural heart to love God! But, oh my soul, be not deceived; thy chief work upon earth is, to obtain sanctification and to walk with God.'

The immediate reputation of Martyn's translation led to its being issued in 1817 in the Devanagari character; this was not repeated, but its value will be seen when the work of translation into Hindi is described. In Urdu itself successive revisions of Martyn's work appeared, and in 1836 a committee—the 'Benares Committee'—was appointed to simplify Martyn's version. It included missionaries of the L.M.S. and C.M.S., and two Indian Christians. The Gospels and Acts were issued as a result in 1837, in Roman character, and the New Testament in 1842 in Arabic character. The Committee had been able also to use a translation by J. J. Häberlin, Secretary of the Calcutta Auxiliary of the Bible Society, issued in 1841, in Roman

character, but immediately withdrawn on account of grave errors in transliteration and printing. In 1843 the complete Bible was issued, the Old Testament work being largely based on Martyn's drafts; and the New Testament of the Benares Committee was revised to secure uniformity with the Old, and J. A. Shürmann, the chief reviser, 'saw reason to revert, in great measure, to the translation of Henry Martyn'.

Meanwhile, in 1839 the Calcutta Baptist missionaries had issued their own translation, mainly the work of William Yates, who made free use of Martyn's version; and in 1860 a revision by C. T. Hoernle of the C.M.S. was issued in London. Its aim was 'to produce a more exact representation of the original Greek', and it had a more than usually exciting course before finding its way into circulation. It had been undertaken in 1856, at the request of the North India Auxiliary Bible Society, and had been printed at Secundra in 1857. The Indian Mutiny broke out and the whole edition was destroyed, with the exception of a few copies. From one of these sent to England, the 1860 edition of 20,000 copies was printed in London, under Mr. Hoernle's own superintendence.

In 1860, R. C. Mather of the L.M.S. edited a reprint of the 'Benares Version', making a number of corrections; and in 1863 he was invited by the North India Auxiliary Bible Society to revise the whole Bible. He was to make such changes as he might think necessary, but to make free and constant use of Hoernle's New Testament version. This appeared in Arabic character in 1870, in Roman in 1878. It was known as the Mirzapur Version, as it was published there, and although the Benares, the Baptist and Hoernle's versions continued in use, it was more nearly the standard version than any of the others. In 1893 a committee with representatives of seven different missions was appointed to revise the New Testament, with Mather's 1878 version as the basis, and conforming it to the Greek text underlying the English Revised Version. Dr. H. U. Weitbrecht of the C.M.S. was Chief Reviser for most of the time, and the New

Testament appeared in 1900 in both Roman and Persian characters, a revision of it being issued in 1906. In 1920 a committee was appointed to revise the Old Testament. The revised Urdu Bible in Roman character appeared in 1931; the Persian edition, printed in Allahabad, came out in 1930, a further edition in reduced size, photographed in Germany, in 1932, and the first English edition, from photographic plates, in 1935.

In most of the great Indian languages the translator has been confronted with the fact that the tongue commonly spoken and understood differs widely from that which is regarded as dignified or even respectable in literature. The tendency in writing is to introduce a great many words derived from Sanskrit. This at once gives a kind of hall-mark of scholarship, but it is often at the price of removing what is written from the widest currency. This is true even in the great Dravidian languages of South India; but it is probably even more so in Hindi and Bengali and the other Indo-Aryan languages of the north. The aim of the translator of the Bible is that which Erasmus expressed in his famous words: 'I wish that even the weakest woman should read the Gospel—should read the Epistles of Paul. And I wish these were translated into all languages, so that they might be read and understood, not only by Scots and Irishmen, but also by Turks and Saracens. I long that the husbandman should sing portions of them to himself as he follows the plough, and that the weaver should hum them to the tune of his shuttle, that the traveller should beguile with these stories the tedium of his journey.' Most Bible translators in India have at first been dependent upon Brahmin pandits for their initiation into the mysteries of the language, and it is not strange that they should have been strongly influenced by them in their literary style. It is not to exhaust the problems of translators to say that there must always be this conflict between style and simplicity, between classical standards and a racy vernacular; and how far any particular version hits the happy mean will always be a matter in which judgements differ.

It is fortunately not a part of the aim of this book to pronounce such judgements; but these considerations make it easy to understand why such a variety of versions has been produced in Hindi, as well as in other languages, and why finality in translation is not to be expected. It is also to be remembered that prose Hindi is practically a new language, dating only from the beginning of the nineteenth century, and that it has been more than usually sensitive to the strong external influences which are continually entering into it and changing its character. It is spoken over a wide area by many millions of people, and there are considerable variations in local usage.

The first Bible translation into Hindi was that of the four Gospels, made by Henry Thomas Colebrooke, President of the Bench at Calcutta, the first great Sanskrit scholar of Europe, and Professor of Hindu Law and Sanskrit in the College of Fort William. This was published in 1806, at the expense of Government, and 400 copies were presented to the missionaries. The Serampore missionaries had begun a translation some years earlier, and their version of the New Testament was finished in 1807 and issued in 1811, much of the Old Testament coming out in parts during the following years. Reference has already been made to the fact that this version was found to be unacceptable in the neighbourhood of Agra (the Brahmins despised it because it contained so many Musalman words) and that Chamberlain of the Baptist Mission had brought out a modification of it in the Braj-Bhasha dialect. Chamberlain in 1810 had purposed to work among Sikhs at Saharanpur. That door being closed, he went to Agra, and we catch sight of him in 1814 at Delhi, sending a copy of the 'Arabic Bible to the heir-apparent of the Mogul throne, and a copy of the Hindi scriptures to the Palace', duly acknowledged in the Court News.

In 1815 Henry Martyn's Urdu New Testament appeared and its reputation was such that a version of it in Devanagari character was called for and issued in 1817. A modification of this, with Sanskrit equivalents for the Persian and Arabic

terms Martyn had used, was prepared by William Bowley, a gifted Anglo-Indian missionary of the C.M.S.; the first three Gospels appeared in 1819 and the complete New Testament in 1826. This was followed in 1834 by the Old Testament. Bowley knew neither Hebrew nor Greek, and his Old Testament translation was made almost entirely from the English Authorized Version.

Yet another version of the New Testament appeared in 1848, prepared by the Baptist Missionary William Yates and completed after his death by A. Leslie, published by the Baptist Mission. This underwent revision at the hands of John Parsons, of the B.M.S., assisted by a planter, John Christian, who was well versed in vernacular Hindi and its poetical literature. This work, begun in 1857, was published in 1868.

Meanwhile, the North India Auxiliary Bible Society had come into existence at Agra in 1845, and one of its first acts was to appoint a Revision Committee. F. E. Schneider of the C.M.S., Benares, was the editor. The Gospels were issued separately and the complete New Testament appeared in 1849. The same committee was at work on the Old Testament, which was issued, the first part in 1852, the second in 1855, under the editorship of Joseph Owen, of the American Presbyterian Mission. Mr. Owen again revised the Old Testament after the Indian Mutiny, and it was issued in two parts in 1866 and 1869.

The American Bible Society issued St. Luke in 1858 and the complete New Testament in 1869, both from the American Presbyterian Mission Press at Ludhiana.

Meanwhile, in 1860 the New Testament had been issued with some changes from the 1849 version, with J. F. Ullmann of the American Presbyterian Mission as editor; but in 1874 the Bible Society was permitted to publish the Baptist version of Parsons, with alterations in the case of words for 'baptize' and its cognates, and this thus became for the time the standard Hindi version. The complete Bible in one volume was issued for the first time in 1892, consisting of Owen's

version of the Old Testament and this modification of Parsons's New Testament. The New Testament was frequently reprinted, and in 1891 E. J. Lazarus, proprietor of the Medical Hall Press, Benares, printed for the North India Auxiliary Bible Society 'an edition of 10,000 copies. He presented the entire edition to the Bible Society, together with a set of paper moulds, from which stereotype plates were prepared. From these plates a second edition of the New Testament was printed in 1898, and a third in 1905, each consisting of 10,000 copies, besides many large editions of the Gospels and of the Acts'.

In 1883 another committee for the revision of the New Testament was appointed by the North India Auxiliary Bible Society, containing representatives of five great British and American Missionary Societies, with J. F. Holcomb of the American Presbyterian Mission as chief reviser. The Gospels were issued in tentative editions for criticism, and appeared in final form in 1888. In 1894 a committee was appointed for the retranslation of the Old Testament, consisting of W. Hooper of the C.M.S., S. H. Kellogg of the A.P.M., and J. A. Lambert of the L.M.S. They, too, issued tentative editions of their work as they proceeded. In 1899 Genesis and Exodus were published for general circulation: and in 1905 the complete Old Testament, as revised by the two survivors of the 1894 Committee. Dr. Kellogg died from a bicycle accident near Mussoorie in 1899 during the sessions of the Committee, and, in a feeling tribute paid to him shortly afterwards, Dr. Hooper, who himself lived in retirement at Mussoorie till his death in 1922, tells a story illustrative of his rare ability in many fields. 'On his first voyage to India, early in the 'sixties, just after leaving the American coast, the captain of the sailing vessel suddenly died. No other officer on board feeling competent for the responsible task, Dr. Kellogg navigated the vessel to the mouth of the Hoogly with perfect success. And yet he had never specially studied navigation, but had devoted himself almost entirely to the elements of a clerical education.'

CHAPTER IV

Tamil

THE TAMIL PEOPLE INHABIT the south-east part of India, from a few miles north of Madras to the south of the peninsula; they also form the bulk of the population in the north of Ceylon. More than any other South Indian people, the Tamils have shown a readiness to emigrate and a power of adaptation to other conditions, so that to-day they are to be found in most places where Indians have settled overseas. The Tamil language, too, is on the whole the most virile of the Dravidian tongues and has shown a tendency to displace other languages on which it borders. It has a notable classical literature, some of which goes back about two thousand years, and is of great flexibility and power. The number of persons in India whose mother-tongue is Tamil was recorded in the 1931 census as 20,411,652; the number in Ceylon is a little over a million.

Tamil has the distinction of being the first Indian language into which any part of the Bible is known to have been translated. The Dutch missionaries in Ceylon in 1688—the year which brought a Dutch prince on to the throne of England—had translated Matthew's Gospel into Portuguese and thence into Tamil for the benefit of the Tamil people in the north of the island. It seems uncertain whether the whole New Testament was completed, though in 1694 a beginning was made with the Old Testament: the work was apparently carried on, in a desultory way, and by the end of the following century much of the Bible was published, though no copy of this edition is known to exist. (In Ceylon translations were apparently published in 1748 and 1759 with Philip de Melho, the first Ceylonese minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, as chief translator. Little or

URDU

کیونکہ خدا نے دنیا سے الٹی کھینچی کہ اُس نے اپنا اکو تاجیہ
بخش دیا تاکہ جو کوئی اُس پر ایمان لائے ہلاک نہ ہو۔ بلکہ ہمیشہ کی زندگی پائے۔

KANARESE

ಹೀವರಾ ಲೋಕದ ಮೇಲೆ ಎಷ್ಟೋ ಪ್ರೀತಿಯುಂಟು, ತನ್ನ ಬಟ್ಟೆ
ನೀ ಮಗನನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟನು; ಉತ್ತನನ್ನು ನಂಬುವ ಬಟ್ಟೆನಾದರೂ ನಾಶ
ಮಗದ ಎಲ್ಲರೂ ನಿತ್ಯಜೀವನವನ್ನು ಪಡೆಯಬೇಕೆಂದು ಉತ್ತನನ್ನು
ಕೊಟ್ಟನು.

MALAYALAM

തന്റെ ഏകജാതനായ പുത്രനിൽ വിശ്വ
സിക്കുന്ന ഏവനും നശിച്ചു പോകാതെ നിത്യ
ജീവൻ പ്രാപിക്കേണ്ടതിന്നു ദൈവം അവനെ
നഷ്ടമാക്കി തക്കവണ്ണം ലോകത്തെ സ്നേഹിച്ചു.

ORIYA

ହେଉଛୁ ଶରଣେଶ୍ୱର ଚଉଚୁ ଏକ ସ୍ତ୍ରୀ ବଳେ ସେ ସେ ଅସରା ଅବିଭା
ସୁଖକୁ ଦେଲେ; ଚନ୍ଦ୍ରରେ ସେ ବେଶ୍ ଚାହାନ୍ତି।ରେ ବୋଧହୁଏ, ସେ ବେଶ୍
କହେ। ଅବିଭା ଶରଣେ ଶାନ୍ତ ।

SINHALESE

මනෝහාර දෙවියන්වහන්සේ නමින්
ඒකජාන පුත්‍රයාණන් ආදිනාගන්නා සියල්
ලන් විනාශයට නොපැමිණ සදාකාල ජීවනය
ලබන විනිසු ලන්වහන්සේ දෙමින් ලෝක
යට එපමණ ප්‍රේමසාලයේක.

TAMIL

தேவன் தம்முடைய ஒரேபேரான குமாரனை விசுவாசிக்
கிறவன் எவனோ அவன் கெட்டுப் போகாமல் நித்தியஜீவனை
அடையும்படிக்கு, அவனைத் தந்தருளி, இவ்வளவாய் உல
கத்தில் அன்புசூர்ந்தார்.

దేవుడు లోకమునెంతో ప్రేమించెను. కాగా ఆయన తన
అద్వితీయకుమారుడుగా పుట్టిన వానియందు విశ్వాసముంచు
ప్రతివాడును నశింపక నిత్యజీవము పొందునటు, ఆయనను గ్రహిం
చెను.

དཀོན་མཆོག་གིས་ཉིད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་གཅིག་པོ་གནང་བ་ཙམ་དུ་འཇིག་རྟེན་ལ་
བྱས་པར་མཛད་པས། སྤྱི་ཡང་དེ་ལ་དྲན་བ་བྱེད་པ་མེད་པར་མི་འགྱུར་གྱི་མཐའ་
མེད་པའི་སྤྱི་གཅིག་པོར་བར་བྱའོ།

[illegible][illegible]

काहेकि ईश्वर दुनिया[केमन]के ऐसन
हुठान करेक, कि उ अपन एकठा वेठाके
देक, कि जे केउ उकनमें विस्वास करी, से

PASHTO

څنگه چه الله له جهان سره داسي مينه
 وکړه چه ابن وحيد خپل ئي ورکړ تا چه هرڅوک چه
 په ده ايمان راوړي هلاک نه شي بلکه ابدې ژوند
 ولري

BENGALI

কারণ জেশ্বর জগৎকে এমন প্রেম করিলেন যে, আপনার
 একজাত পুত্রকে দান করিলেন, যেন, যে কেহ তাঁহাতে
 বিশ্বাস করে, সে বিনষ্টে না হয়, কিংবা অনন্ত জীবন পায়।

HINDI

क्योंकि ईश्वरने जगतको ऐसा प्यार किया कि उसने
 अपना एकलौता पुत्र दिया कि जो कोई उसपर विश्वास
 करे सो नाश न होय परन्तु अनन्त जीवन पावे।

GUJARATI

કેમકે દેવે જગત પર એટલી પ્રીતિ પ્રીધી કે
 તેણે પોતાનો એકાકીજનિત દીકરો આપ્યો
 એ સાક્ષ કે, જે કોઈ તેના પર વિશ્વાસ કરે તેનો
 નાશ ન થાય, પણ તે અનંત જીવન પામે.

GURMUKHI (PANJABI)

ਕਿਉਂਕਿ ਪਰਮੇਸੁਰ ਨੇ ਜਗਤਨੂੰ ਅਜਿਹਾ ਪਿਆਰ
 ਕੀਤਾ ਜੋ ਉਸਨੇ ਆਪਣਾ ਇਕਲੋਤਾ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਤਾਂ
 ਜੇਕਰ ਜੋ ਉਸ ਉੱਤੇ ਨਿਰਭਰ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੈ ਉਹਦਾ ਨਾਸ਼
 ਨਾ ਹੋਵੇ ਸਗੋਂ ਸਦੀਪਕ ਜੀਉਣ ਪਾਵੇ।

nothing is known of this translation and in any case it does not seem to have been used in India.)

Happily, the Tamil people in India were not long dependent on this dilatory source of supply for the Word of God, and the main line of Bible translation into Tamil provides a story of outstanding perseverance and heroism. It starts with the arrival of Bartholomew Ziegenbalg at the Danish settlement of Tranquebar in South India in 1706. Ziegenbalg was a young man of twenty-three when he landed, and he and his companion Plütschau were of German birth, recruited as 'royal Danish missionaries' in the service of King Frederick IV of Denmark by Dr. Lützens, his zealous court preacher. It had proved impossible in Denmark itself to find suitable men for the Indian Mission which the king was resolved to start and Dr. Lützens therefore turned to his own country of Germany, where the Pietist movement was giving a new tone to religion under the leadership of A. H. Francke. Ziegenbalg had been converted to God at the age of sixteen, and shortly afterwards a deep impression had been made on his mind by words he heard as a student at the newly founded University of Halle: 'If anyone leads a single soul belonging to a heathen people to God, it is as great a deed as though he were to win a hundred souls in Europe, since the latter daily enjoy sufficient opportunities of being converted.' But he was troubled by many doubts: his studies were hampered by constant ill health; and it was under strong pressure from his Pietist friends that he accepted the call to missionary service. Plütschau, his friend and fellow student, was six years his senior.

Though the enterprise was due to the missionary zeal of the Danish King himself, the path of the missionaries was beset with difficulties. The Danish Bishop had no sympathy with pietism, and in consequence both men failed in their examination. The King, however, intervened and insisted on a second examination being held, with a more satisfactory result. There was no lack of contempt for the men and for the project. And the Danish East India Company, which

had already been trading in Tranquebar for ninety years, resented the King's action in sending missionaries to its factories, as a usurpation of its rights, and gave orders in advance to its officials to put as many hindrances as possible in their way when they arrived. On their long voyage they met with much opposition from the captain of the ship and the Lutheran chaplain, but matters were far worse when they came to disembark. 'First of all they had to wait several days on board, because no one would get them a boat to take them ashore. Then a friend took them on board another ship, from which they set off through the foaming surf in a little boat. When they were at last carried ashore by Tamils, the captain threatened the latter with blows, and made for the missionaries with an uplifted stick. But they had landed: it was ten o'clock in the morning. They were now forced to wait outside the town until seven in the evening.' They spent their time in studying the Acts of the Apostles. 'At four o'clock the Commander of the place, J. C. Hassius, came out to meet them, accompanied by the magistrates and the two Danish preachers. He asked them what they wanted and who had sent them. When they showed the King's letter and seal, he became suddenly quiet, and thought they might perhaps help at the Danish School; apart from that, he knew nothing they were fit for. The two clergymen also gave them a freezing reception. Night fell; the officials strode back into the town, and the missionaries followed them as far as the market-place. There they were left alone, but at length a secretary took pity on them and brought them to the house of his father-in-law, who spoke German.'¹

'Freezing' may describe such a reception, but it is not a word that in any but a highly metaphorical sense could be applied to a July afternoon on the south-east coast of India, and it does not need a very vivid imagination to realize something of the mind of these two men, landed friendless on a tropical shore and treated with studied discourtesy by

¹ Julius Richter, *A History of Missions in India*, p. 103.

those from whom they might reasonably have expected, if not cordiality, at least elementary humanity. This, however, was but the beginning of a long course of vexatious treatment to which Hassius subjected them. For no reason and on the most trifling pretexts, he had them publicly arrested; he himself struck them, called them 'dogs', threatened them with thrashing and exhausted his vocabulary of abuse upon them. Ziegenbalg was confined for four months 'in a tiny room near the kitchen, in which he was well-nigh suffocated, and kept under the most rigid surveillance. No one was allowed to visit him, and he was even denied pen and ink. The military and other officials were commanded to have no kind of intercourse with those "traitors to their country", the missionaries'.¹ Their correspondence was interfered with and the freedom of their movements curtailed; officialdom did its worst to prevent the starting of the work they had come to do and to bully them into retreat. But Ziegenbalg's Christian character ultimately conquered. To the Governor's threat of extreme measures, his retort was: 'I too will proceed to extremes, of love.'

This, however, is not the place in which to tell the heroic story of these pioneer missionaries, save in so far as it illustrates the conditions under which Ziegenbalg and Plütschau commenced their work. Their own language was German, so that even Danish, the official language of the factory, was foreign to them, and had to be learnt. The numerous half-castes spoke a broken Portuguese; this also had to be learnt. But neither Danish nor Portuguese was understood by the people of the land themselves, and therefore they had to learn Tamil, a language unknown to the Danish clergymen and almost so to the Danish officials. There was no competent teacher of the language and no grammar or dictionary. Ziegenbalg began to learn Tamil sitting on the ground among school-children, and tracing in the dust with them the characters of the Tamil alphabet. He had a remarkable gift for languages and he was tireless in diligence, so that, in

¹ Ibid., p. 104.

spite of all handicaps, he made rapid progress. He read much Tamil religious literature and at an early stage began to prepare Tamil works himself, at first having them duplicated by hand, until 1713, when a small press with Tamil characters¹ was sent out by the S.P.C.K. and he was able to print. His first efforts were sermons, the Lutheran Catechism, and a few tracts and school-books; but the work which he regarded as of prime importance was the translation of the Bible, and to this he gave himself with earnest prayer and unflagging zeal.

He had completed the translation of the New Testament within five years of his arrival in the Tamil country; it was published in 1715, and by 1719, the year of his death, he had finished the Old Testament up to the Book of Ruth. Work so rapidly accomplished, in a language so rich and difficult as Tamil, was obviously exposed to many criticisms: it did not conform to the standards of classical Tamil nor was it mellifluous; it bears plainly in its frequently almost phonetic spelling the traces of its origin in the familiar talk of the common man. But it was an intelligible and faithful translation, and was widely read, in spite of the ridicule poured upon it by the eminent Jesuit linguist, Father Beschi, who called it 'horrid gibberish' and said that 'when one read the first line of it one's eyes became inflamed, one's tongue dried up, and one's ears inclined to burst: people looked at one another and broke out in loud laughter'. Missionary zeal in Ziegenbalg may have outrun scholarly discretion; but it ill beseems discreet scholars of a later day to sit in any but humble and kindly judgement on the zeal of one who, in the midst of trials of every kind, in a brief missionary career of only a dozen years, accomplished so much.

The work of translating the latter part of the Old Testament, left unfinished by Ziegenbalg's early death, was completed by another German missionary, Benjamin Schultze, and published in Tranquebar in 1726. Schultze bears testimony, as many a later translator has done, to the spiritual

¹ This seems to have been the first Tamil printing press in existence.

value to himself of the Word as he translated it: 'that the Lord refreshed his own soul, causing him daily to feed upon the green pastures of the word which were employing all his thoughts,' thus, as was quaintly and truly remarked, 'proving the faithful loving kindness of our God, who does not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn'. Another glimpse of Schultze shows him having the Lord's Prayer translated into eight different languages, written on palmyra leaves and scattered abroad, as seed for the Lord to bless.

But this first Tamil translation, published at Tranquebar in 1727, great achievement though it was, speedily called for revision, and in 1742 there arrived in Madras the man who more than any other will always be associated with the Tamil Bible. Philipp Fabricius was also a German,¹ but of a very different type from Schultze, who had shown little literary judgement and had had no hesitation in issuing raw and practically worthless translations in Telugu and Hindostani, as well as his Tamil work. Fabricius was of a retiring disposition, which won for him the name of 'Sanyāsi Aiyar'—the ascetic priest—among the people, but which was little qualification for the responsible administrative work to which he was called in Madras during that most turbulent period. Those were the days of the struggle for the supremacy in South India between the English and the French, and

¹ It is worthy of note that the Danish Mission needed to find its recruits in Germany, and that from 1740 its South Indian work was financed from England by the Society for the Promotion of Christian knowledge, which had been founded in 1698, but was unable to find English candidates for its work. The relatively small scale of operations is indicated by the fact that the total annual expenditure of the S.P.C.K. in South India was only about £1,000 at the end of the century, and that about the same time the total annual income of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (founded 1701) was £800. Even that, however, is in interesting contrast to the resolution of the General Assembly of the Kirk in Scotland in 1796 that 'to spread among barbarians and heathen natives the knowledge of the Gospel seems to be highly preposterous, in so far as it anticipates, nay even reverses the order of nature', and to the famous rebuke that Carey received in 1786 (*see* p. 22).

Madras was exposed to siege and plunder, in which mission work and property both suffered, and Fabricius himself was more than once compelled to retire with the handful of his Christian converts to the Dutch station of Pulicat, some miles north of Madras. At a later day the marauding hordes of Haidar Ali swept up to the city, and Fabricius with other civilians had to take refuge in Fort St. George. But he had all the instincts of the scholar and bent all the powers of his mind to the task of Bible translation and to other Tamil writings, among which must rank a number of noble Tamil hymns, chiefly translated from the German, as well as a Tamil grammar and a most valuable dictionary. He spent twenty years on the translation of the New Testament, which was published in 1773, the Old Testament following in 1777. In 1774 he had issued a metrical version of the Psalms, all these being printed at the Tranquebar press. Others helped in the task—notably Gericke and Huttemann in Cuddalore—but the work was essentially that of Fabricius, and ranks as one of the most notable achievements in the whole field of Biblical translation. It is said that he ‘crept through the original Bible text on his knees as if he were himself a poor sinner and mendicant, carefully weighing each word to see how it might best be rendered’, and the result was that, especially in the Old Testament, as later revisers and scholars have agreed, his rendering is again and again more faithful than either the English or the German. Little wonder that his work has been the basis of all subsequent revisions, and that the Lutherans have retained it in preference to the later versions almost up to the present day.

The subsequent story of Fabricius makes painful reading, and need here be told only in the barest outline. His last years were clouded by the loss of his faculties. He was an old man and he had been unwise in money transactions. Large sums of money had been entrusted to him which he lent out at a high rate of interest on insufficient security. His good nature and simplicity had been traded on by a dishonest catechist in whom he had imposed blind

confidence, and in due course the inevitable crash came. Many widows and poor Christians lost all that they had, and Fabricius himself was again and again sent to the debtors' jail in Madras. This brought the gravest scandal upon the whole mission and cast a dark cloud over the last thirteen years of Fabricius's life. He died at last, a sad and weary and disillusioned old man, in January 1791.

With the opening of the nineteenth century in England came the new interest in Christian missions and in Bible translation that is linked, on the one hand, with the names of Carey and his colleagues and, on the other, with the foundation of the British and Foreign Bible Society. All honour to the pioneers from the continent of Europe who came to India and saw the need of Bible translation and did such noble work; but it was not enough, and even in the Tamil country Dr. Buchanan reported in his memorable journey in 1806 that there was 'a great cry for Bibles'. People followed him crying, 'We don't want bread or money from you; but we want the Word of God'. Mr. Kohlhoff of Tanjore told him that there were 'upwards of 10,000 Protestant Christians belonging to the Tanjore and Tinnevely Districts alone who had not among them one complete copy of the Bible, and that not one Christian perhaps in a hundred had a New Testament'. Henry Martyn, in his famous Calcutta sermon in 1811, speaks of this poverty of the Word and makes an appreciative reference to the Fabricius version. In 1810 the Calcutta Corresponding Committee of the Bible Society had instructed Mr. Kohlhoff to prepare a new edition, and the Bible Society in London sent to Madras a printing press, a large supply of paper, a fount of Tamil type, and the guarantee of a grant of £2,000 for three years; and meanwhile 5,000 Tamil New Testaments were printed at Serampore. From that day to this the Bible Society has accepted the responsibility of supplying the Scriptures to the people of the Tamil country and never again has there been a famine of the Word of God. The total copies in Tamil issued from

the beginning of the Society's history up to the end of 1936 is:

Bibles and Old Testaments	..	344,110
New Testaments	365,728
Portions	8,212,170

Total 8,922,008

Many names are held in honour among Tamil Christians in connexion with Bible translation and revision, in addition to those of the great pioneers; but it is not the purpose of this book to tell in detail of every revision that has been made and of the many problems which have needed to be faced. It must suffice to say that valuable work was done by Rhenius and Rottler, by Winslow and Percival, as well as by others, in the first half of the century, and that for years the Bible Society continued to issue both the Fabricius and the Rhenius versions. In North Ceylon the Jaffna Bible Society was satisfied with neither of them, but did not succeed in its 'Tentative Version' in winning general acceptance. In 1857, after prolonged negotiations, a Revision Committee was appointed with Dr. Bower as Chief Reviser, and with the Fabricius version as the basis of its work. The New Testament was published in 1863, and the Old Testament was completed in 1868. This version, known as the Union Version, while the object of various criticisms, in effect displaced previous versions and won its way into the affection of all the Churches, other than the Lutheran, which retained the Fabricius version.

A few years ago a fresh revision was held to be necessary in the light of all the new textual and other knowledge that has come since the issue of the Union Version, and a strong Revision Committee was appointed, with Dr. L. P. Larsen and Pandit G. S. Doraiswamy as Chief Revisers and containing representatives of the Lutheran Church, in the hope that the version produced would prove to be acceptable to the Lutherans as well as to others, and that thus there might

be one Bible for the whole Church. The New Testament was issued in 1931, the Old Testament in January 1936, and the complete Bible later in the same year. No new version is likely at once to displace an old one, and the Bible Society will continue to issue the Union Version as well as the Revision; but it is good that in the Tamil language, the first in India to have the Scriptures translated into it, there is to be a version that takes account of all the results of Christian scholarship; and it is a happy coincidence that Dr. Larsen, one of the two chief revisers, should have come from the land of Denmark, to the piety of whose king over two hundred years ago was due the coming of the earliest translator, Bartholomew Ziegenbalg.

CHAPTER V

Malayalam

MALAYALAM IS THE MOTHER-TONGUE of 9,137,615 people inhabiting the Malabar coast from the neighbourhood of Mangalore to that of Cape Comorin. The language is closely allied to Tamil, though it has its own character and its own literature. Bible translation work in Malayalam is of unique interest, in that this is the language of the Syrian Christians, and the first urgent call for Scriptures was not, as elsewhere in India, that they might be made available for the great masses of the non-Christian population, but that Christians themselves might have the Bible. Something has been said in the introductory chapter about the ancient Syrian Church in Travancore, with its reputed origin in the apostolic ministry of St. Thomas and its undoubted continuity in south-western India from the early centuries of the Christian era, of its liturgy and the old Syriac Bible, dating probably from the twelfth century, which is now in the Cambridge University Library.

This is not the place to tell the confused story of the Church, with its Jacobite and Nestorian complications and its record of unhappy divisions; but in 1599, during the Portuguese occupation, the Malabarese Christians were compulsorily united to Rome; all traces of Nestorianism were rooted out, and the ancient liturgies were destroyed. In 1663 the Dutch conquest made it possible for them to recover their independence; about half of them remained under Rome, the others returning to their own form of faith and worship. Early in the nineteenth century came a new breath of life with the arrival of C.M.S. missionaries. The very existence of such a community was so little known in the West that years after Dr. Claudius Buchanan had visited

Malabar in 1806 and published the results of his observations there were sceptics who regarded his account as the product of his own fertile imagination. Buchanan was, of course, deeply impressed by what he found; the Syrian Church was 'languishing for want of Scriptures', as one of its priests said. His proposal was to send a copy in Malayalam to each of the fifty-five Syrian churches, and he was told that every man would be glad to make a copy for his own household. The Syrian Metropolitan, Mar Dionysius, aged seventy-eight and infirm, undertook to supervise the translation. He said: 'It is a work which will illuminate these dark regions, and God will give it His blessing.' By 1807 the four Gospels had been completed, the translation being made from the Syriac, with some help from Fabricius's Tamil version, by Timapah Pillay and a priest, Philippos. Timapah Pillay went to Bombay, where a fount of Malayalam type had been cast, and supervised the printing; the book was published in 1811, the British and Foreign Bible Society providing the paper. Successive British Residents at Travancore took a deep interest in the work, first Colonel Macaulay, and then Major Munro, who had been the means of establishing a college at Kottayam. Timapah Pillay had translated the whole New Testament from the Tamil by 1813, but there were difficulties about revising it and publication was delayed. In 1817 it was resolved to translate the whole Bible and print it at Kottayam. The C.M.S. lent their missionary, Benjamin Bailey, for this work, and he was to be assisted by eight Syrian priests; they were to be paid by the Bible Society and generally supervised by Major Munro, who said that, if no other means could be devised, he would support them himself. The Calcutta Auxiliary was also considering another New Testament translation from the Vulgate, under Roman Catholic superintendence, though the Vicar-General did not object to the translation already made.

Bailey issued a tentative version of Matthew in 1825, and the Madras Auxiliary Bible Society, which was founded in

1820, published his translation of the New Testament in 1829. It was printed at the Church Mission Press at Kottayam; and Bailey is said to have himself constructed the press from instructions found in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and cast the type. But a constantly recurring difficulty in many language areas had already made itself felt in the Malayalam field. It was voiced, among others, by Mr. T. Spring, Chaplain of the East India Company at Tellicherry, in the northern part of the Malayalam country. Bailey's tentative version, it was said, was useful only in Travancore, but it was not in the purer Malayalam which was spoken from Cochin to Kanara, and a northern version was therefore also necessary. Spring undertook to prepare this, and the Madras Auxiliary agreed to publish it; by 1822 he had almost finished the New Testament, working along lines of which an account has been preserved. 'Two natives first rendered it into Malayalam from the Sanscrit; then Mr. Spring, on three days of the week, met a Committee of natives, who knew Sanscrit, and a little of English and Tamul, and their opinions were heard. Besides these, other natives frequently attended and gave their suggestions, while Mr. Spring with his Greek Testament and a commentary considered all that was said. After this the Malayalam amanuensis read aloud the passage under immediate revision, verse by verse; and after discussion, both as to the idiom and the meaning, the translation of the passage was finally settled.' It is interesting to find Carey's Sanskrit translation thus fulfilling the purpose for which he had intended it. Spring, however, retired to England in 1823 and, as far as is known, his translation was never published, the decision having been deliberately reached in 1825 that there should be only one version, and that Bailey's. Bailey was also busy with the Old Testament, and shortly after the publication of his New Testament in 1829 he had completed his translation of the Old Testament also. Ill health compelled a visit to England; but he was back in 1835, and a committee was appointed to revise his version: owing to the slowness of its work, however, the Madras

Auxiliary published Bailey's translation as it stood, the complete Old Testament appearing in 1841.

Benjamin Bailey was one of the giants among the translators of the Bible in the first half of the nineteenth century: he had a great sense of the urgent need for the Bible and a humble consciousness of the defects of his own work. 'We cannot expect to see any very great improvement among them, till they have the Scriptures freely distributed to them. The Bible is the grand engine in the hand of God, that must bring about a reformation in this ancient, but lamentably degraded Church.' On the publication of his Malayalam New Testament in 1829, he wrote: 'I ever have solicited, and would continue to solicit, the strictest scrutiny from all who are acquainted with that language, and would consider myself greatly obliged to any one for any remarks upon it. Being the first Malayalam translation of the whole New Testament ever printed, it cannot be reasonably expected to be wholly without defects and incapable of improvement.' And when the Old Testament was published in 1841 he wrote: 'If but one person be, by means of this translation, brought savingly to believe in Jesus Christ as the only Saviour of sinners, I shall consider myself abundantly rewarded for all my labour and toil, and to God shall be all the glory.'

In 1837 an Anglican clergyman, Norton, who was helping Munro, published a translation of the Psalms at Kottayam; but nothing further is known of this. In 1854, however, at last appeared a translation of the New Testament intended to meet the needs of North Malabar; it was the work of H. Gundert of the Basel Evangelical Lutheran Mission at Tellicherry and was in the style usually employed in the translation of Sanskrit works into Malayalam. New editions of this, as well as of Bailey's translation, appeared in subsequent years; a revised edition of Bailey's Old Testament was issued in 1859. In 1871 the Madras Auxiliary appointed a committee to prepare a revision of the New Testament intended for use in the whole of the Malayalam country. It contained representatives of the C.M.S., the L.M.S., the

Basel Mission, and the Syrian Church, and the chief authorities used were 'the Greek Textus Receptus, Luther and Stier in German; the Authorised Version and Alford's Greek Testament in English; the new revised Tamil version, and Bailey's Malayalam with the Syriac Testament of Dr. Lee were closely consulted, and Dr. Gundert's translation has formed the basis of their labours.' The Gospels and other portions as revised were issued from the press, and in 1880 the New Testament appeared, though the definitive edition of this 'Union Version' was not published till 1899. W. Dilger of the Basel Mission, W. J. Richards of the C.M.S., and Archdeacon Koshi Koshi did the bulk of the work in this long and thorough revision. Dr. Gundert himself had retired from India in 1859, but he continued his Malayalam translation work in Germany, and the Basel Mission Press published a revised edition of his translation of the poetical books of the Old Testament in 1881 (the first edition had been issued in 1859), the prophetic books following in 1888.

Arrangements were then made for Bailey's Old Testament version to be corrected by reference to the English Revised Version, and conformed in phraseology to the 'Union Version' of the New Testament; and this Revised Version of the Old Testament appeared in 1910.

A Roman Catholic translation from the Vulgate of the Gospels and Acts appeared in 1905, with notes; and in 1908 a priest of the Syrian Church issued a translation of Matthew, made from the Syriac.

CHAPTER VI

Telugu

THE 1931 CENSUS REPORT shows that 26,373,727 people have Telugu as their mother-tongue, of whom nearly 18 millions are in the northern part of the Madras Presidency, and nearly 7 millions in the Hyderabad State. They are found along the Madras coast from north of Madras city, where they border on Tamil, to the neighbourhood of Orissa, where Oriya is spoken, and inland in a rough triangle the apex of which is Bellary, where Kanarese is found. In the early days of the British occupation, they formed the greater part of the Madras army, so that sepoys even in Bengal were known as 'Telingas'. They were also called 'Gentoo's' by the Europeans, from a Portuguese word *gentio*, meaning Gentile. They are an enterprising race, and are good farmers. As in some other parts of India, so in the Andhra or Telugu country a strong local patriotism has asserted itself during the past few years which has led to the beginnings of a literary revival. The Telugu language belongs to the Dravidian family, but appears to have broken off from the common stock at an early date: like the other great Dravidian languages, it has its own characters and its own literature.

Of recent years the Telugu country has witnessed large accessions to the Christian Church, first chiefly among the outcastes, but more recently among the well-to-do middle classes, many of whom have been greatly impressed by the change that Christianity has made in their servants.

The earliest publication in Telugu of any part of the Bible was in 1812; but long before that the Scriptures had been translated. B. Schultze, whose work in Tamil and in Hindi is noted elsewhere, had finished a translation of the New

Testament in Telugu by 1727, and had apparently done the same for the Old Testament by 1732, but these were never printed; the MSS. were apparently sent by him to Halle and were there mislaid or forgotten.

In 1795 in April and September, Captain Dodds, a Scotsman and an officer in the East India Company's service, wrote to his mother in London that he was engaged in translating part of the Scriptures into Telugu: 'It will give you satisfaction, I am sure, to be informed, that I am engaged, at present, in translating part of the Holy Scripture into the Gentoo language, for the use, I hope, of my fellow-men in this country. This language, together with the Malabar, has employed me since I came last out of the field. These studies I prosecuted with what would be called by many a very strange and *outré* view—not in the hope of any great worldly advantage; but in the ambition of having the honour to contribute my mite also towards diffusing the knowledge of our blessed Saviour, among a tribe who are ignorant that He is the Redeemer of men. . . . For so good a work as this, I am sure you will be content to allow me a little more leave of absence: and if I can but accomplish it, I shall return to you with ten times more satisfaction; conscious of my having done at least some good in my generation, and leaving, perhaps, a permanent memorial of my desire to propagate the knowledge of our Saviour's religion behind me. . . . I have already done several of the books, and in about a year from this may accomplish the rest. Thus I strive to make good my dear uncle's saying, who interpreted my destination for this country, as my being designed by God to bear the light of the glorious Gospel to the regions of idolatry and paganism. Perhaps it is presumptuous in me to think thus high of myself. Pray for me, my dear mother, to God, that He would enable me to carry through my plan on this head; and I, wanting nothing more of this world, would not then care what might become of me.' Within a week of writing this, Dodds was dead, and presumably his Telugu translations were destroyed as waste paper.

‘What is our failure here but a triumph’s evidence
For the fulness of the days?’

‘All we have willed or hoped or dreamed of good shall exist;
Not its semblance, but itself; no beauty, nor good, nor power
Whose voice has gone forth, but each survives for the melodist
When eternity affirms the conception of an hour.
The high that proved too high, the heroic for earth too hard,
The passion that left the ground to lose itself in the sky,
Are music sent up to God by the lover and the bard;
Enough that he heard it once: we shall hear it by-and-by.’

The indefatigable Serampore missionaries had made a beginning with Telugu in 1805 and completed the New Testament in 1811. Printing was in progress, but the great fire in the press in 1812 destroyed not only the type and the printed sheets, but the MS. as well. The work had to be done again, and the New Testament was published in 1818, the Pentateuch coming out three years later. Telugu, however, is one of the languages in which the main line of translation started elsewhere than in Serampore.

In 1804 the London Missionary Society sent out two missionaries, George Cran and Augustus Desgranges, who were stationed at Vizagapatam. They realized at once the necessity of translation work, and Cran wrote: ‘What a pleasure could it be, to have a few thousand copies of Scriptures circulating among the natives in their own language! But this will be a work of immense labour. We make some attempts, however, every day.’ He died at the end of 1808, and Desgranges was left to carry on the work. He translated direct from the Greek, and was assisted by a Telugu Brahmin convert, Anandarayar, who translated from the Tamil version; together they translated the New Testament up to the end of 1 Corinthians. In June 1910 Desgranges wrote: ‘The necessity of putting the pure word of God into the hands of the natives seems to be of such importance to the promotion of the chief designs of missions, that every other object

should give place to it. Happy am I that the work is commenced.' In the following month he fell ill and on July 12th he died, among his last words being a reference to the translation, which was much on his mind: 'The Lord can carry that on without me; so that my life is not necessary on that account.' Matthew, Mark and John were ready for the press, and in 1812 they were published as they stood by the Calcutta Corresponding Committee, which had already given grants of money towards the work.

In 1818 there was published in Madras the New Testament translated by Edward Pritchett, missionary of the L.M.S., who had reached Vizagapatam in 1812 and had done this work with the help of Anandarayar and of John Gordon, who had arrived on the field the year before the death of Desgranges, and had been welcomed by him as eminently qualified to carry on the translation work. Pritchett died in 1824 and Gordon in 1828, but each of them also translated much of the Old Testament. In 1831 Genesis and Exodus i-xx were printed by the Madras Committee, and in later years their work formed the basis of editions of the Psalms and of the whole Old Testament. Each of them evidently translated from the English Authorized Version. In 1844 a translation committee was appointed, and made considerable changes in their MS. versions. The greater part of the work was done by L.M.S. missionaries, R. D. Johnston and J. W. Gordon—a son of J. Gordon—and in 1854 the Old Testament was issued, a revised edition appearing in 1857. Independent translation work was also being done by J. Reid, another L.M.S. missionary at Bellary, whose Genesis was published by the Madras Auxiliary in 1841; and by C. P. Brown, of the Madras Civil Service, Oriental scholar, author of a Telugu grammar and dictionary and editor of many Telugu classics: his version of Luke was published in 1838. He made a draft translation of almost the whole Bible which he offered to the Madras Auxiliary in 1853. Tentative editions of selections from it were printed in 1855, but nothing further was done. The MS. of Brown's translation,

with that of a revision of part of it, is in the Library of the Bible House in London.

Meanwhile little progress was being made by the 1844 committee with the New Testament revision. The committee could not agree as to the Greek text which was to form the basis of the translation, and when the London Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society insisted on their regulation, which at that time prescribed the *Textus Receptus*, two leading members of the committee, S. Wardlaw and John Hay, both of the L.M.S., while continuing to co-operate with their colleagues in Old Testament work, decided to act independently and produced a translation of the New Testament based on an emended Greek text and published in 1856; the cost of publication was met by private subscriptions. This translation was subsequently revised by a specially appointed committee and brought into closer conformity with the *Textus Receptus*; it was issued in 1860 by the Madras Auxiliary, and bound with the 1857 Old Testament to form the first complete Bible in Telugu.

During these years there had been a serious shortage in the supply of New Testaments in Telugu. In 1823 we read of a missionary lending a copy, which was read by the borrower, and his brother-in-law then commenced to copy it, so that they might be able to have a copy for themselves. In 1829 one missionary reported that he had not a single Gospel left; and in 1852 again the New Testament was out of print.

In 1865 the Madras Auxiliary Bible Society formed a committee to co-operate with John Hay, who was working on a revision of the Bible, based upon the original Hebrew and Greek: this contained representatives of five different missions. It did not meet, however, till 1873. Tentative versions of many portions were issued, and in a valuable preface to Genesis, issued in 1874, Hay lays down the principles of Telugu translation and discusses the renderings of theological and technical terms. In 1878 the New Testament was issued, with slight alterations from the 1860 edition.

In 1882 an arrangement was made between the Bible Society and the L.M.S. by which Hay was to give his full time to the work as chief reviser, and in 1884 the Bible was issued—the four Gospels representing the Committee's revision, the rest being Hay's own work. Subsequent editions included further revisions by the Committee. Meanwhile, in 1881 a tentative edition of the New Testament had been issued by the Baptists, with some modifications of the 1860 edition; further editions appeared in later years.

J. Hay died in 1891, after devoting much of his time and strength for over twenty-five years to the work of Bible translation. It was decided to revise the latter part of the New Testament and ultimately the whole Bible, and tentative editions of various books appeared from time to time, till in 1904 it was possible to issue a revised translation of the whole Bible, with the style unified throughout. As chief revisers on this work, two Indian clergymen of the C.M.S.—first D. Anantam, and then B. Sinayya—rendered most valuable service as colleagues of the L.M.S. missionaries, E. Lewis and, after his untimely death, J. R. Bacon. As in many other languages, so in Telugu, the task of producing a universally acceptable version has been complicated by the wide diversity of dialects in various parts of the area, as well as by inevitable differences of judgement on the best way of rendering the original and on questions of style; one recurring difficulty, in connexion with translation, was met by the decision that in passages relating to baptism alternative renderings should be given in the margin. Criticisms were invited on the 1904 version and the utmost care was taken to meet them, with the result that in 1911 the revised edition of the Bible proved to be far more acceptable than any of its predecessors.

In 1913 and 1914 poetical versions of the Gospels of Matthew, Luke and John were published, followed two years later by similar versions of Romans and Galatians, and ultimately by the whole New Testament. They were the work of Rajah M. Bhujanga Rao, Zamindar of Lakkavaram,

near Ellore. The Rajah, a non-Christian, had become interested in Christianity through the influence of a lady doctor at the Lutheran Mission Hospital, where his wife and child had undergone treatment some years earlier.

CHAPTER VII

Kanarese

KANARESE BELONGS TO THE Dravidian family of languages : it is written in its own character, which is closely related to Telugu. There are 11,280,306 people speaking Kanarese as their mother-tongue, of whom over $4\frac{1}{2}$ million are in the Mysore State : it is spoken also in adjoining parts of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies to the north-west and in the southern part of the Nizam's dominions. It has a considerable ancient literature.

The Serampore missionaries appear to have completed their translation of the New Testament into Kanarese by 1809, but the MS. was destroyed in the 1812 fire at the press, and it was only in 1823 that their version 'into the Kurnata language' was published. Like so many of the Serampore versions in languages remote from Bengal, this did not prove serviceable, and the translations upon which all subsequent versions have been built were the work of men living in the midst of the Kanarese people. It was not the Serampore missionaries alone in Bengal who had a concern for Kanarese-speaking people : the Calcutta Bible Society had heard in 1811 from Henry Martyn at Goa that there were 20,000 native Christians in Portuguese territory who spoke Kanarese, and the Committee wrote to the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Goa, asking his sanction for the preparation of a Kanarese New Testament for the Christians of his diocese : 'while the English and Portuguese nations, always faithful to each other, are making one cause in Europe against the encroachments of tyranny, and nobly fighting for independence, the Churches of the nations in Hindustan unite to promote peace on earth by distributing, in the countries around them, the faithful records of Prophets, Evangelists

and Apostles.' But the Archbishop preferred to issue selections, with suitable notes: moreover, he said, all the Kanarese-speaking Christians who could read at all could read Portuguese, and not half a dozen of them could read the Kanarese that the Gentoos wrote.

Meanwhile John Hands of the L.M.S. had arrived at Bellary in 1809. Within a year he had compiled a grammar and dictionary and had begun to translate Luke into Kanarese. In 1812 he apparently published a translation of the synoptic Gospels. In 1817 the Calcutta Auxiliary, on learning that his version of the New Testament was completed and the first part ready for the press, made a grant of a thousand rupees, and the Gospels and Acts were printed at Madras in 1820. Ephesians and Philippians appeared two years later, and the whole New Testament, which had been revised by Hands in 1825, was published in 1830 by the Madras Auxiliary, and printed at the Bellary Mission Press. In 1828 Hands had paid a visit to England for health reasons, but before that time he and his colleague William Reeve, who had arrived in India in 1816, had made substantial progress in translating the Old Testament. A specimen of Hands's version of the Pentateuch was in the hands of the Madras Committee in 1820, and in 1827 and the following years portions of the Old Testament were published, the whole of the Old Testament being in print by 1831. Reeve had been responsible for the section Genesis to Esther, Hands for the remaining books, and valuable help was given by members of the translation committee appointed by the Madras Auxiliary, and including J. Taylor, of the L.M.S., and two civilians, A. D. Campbell and R. C. Gosling. In 1827, shortly before leaving for England, Hands wrote: 'The work was commenced 16 years ago, and scarcely a day since has passed, when health would allow, in which I have not laboured therein; indeed it has engaged the best and greater part of my time and strength; many of the books have been revised and re-copied not less than seven or eight times.' He had already had the satisfaction of

knowing that the Gospel in his translation had not lost its power: 'One man, a sanyasee of some note among his people, met with one of the Canarese Gospels at Chittledroog, which he appears to have read with much attention; and he compares the effect it produced on his mind, to that of a sword piercing the heart: he enquired whence the book had been obtained, and being told, from Bellary, he could have no rest, he says, till he repaired thither, to obtain books for himself, and make further enquiries about this new religion. He stayed with the missionary at Bellary about a month, where he received further instruction, expressed his approbation of the Gospel as the way of salvation, (and) cut off his matted locks. . . .' This man, who was a Telugu, was later baptized at Cuddapah and 'continued to adorn his profession as a Christian'.

On his return from England in 1831, Hands brought a new fount of Kanarese type, cast there under his direction; in 1837 a revised edition of the Gospels and Acts was brought out by Hands and his colleague, J. Reid, under the supervision of a committee appointed by the Madras Auxiliary; other portions appeared in later years.

In 1839 Hands wrote, with characteristic humility: 'As a member of the Revision Committee, I have lately gone through the revised translation of the Book of Genesis in Canarese, and I am happy to say, I think it much improved. I greatly rejoice that the Lord is raising up and qualifying so many valuable men to improve and perfect those translations of His holy word, which were carried on by their predecessors under so many difficulties and disadvantages.'

A little later the Madras Auxiliary Bible Society placed on record a judgement which subsequent experience in every language area of India has confirmed: 'That the only way to obtain a translation, where much labour is required, in any reasonable time or uniform manner, is to have some person wholly devoted to the work. . . . A Committee of Revision is also desirable, to preserve the work from any

peculiarities, which it might otherwise have, as the production of one mind.' In accordance with this, in 1848 G. H. Weigle of the Basel Mission was engaged by the Society for one year for New Testament revision; and his services were later retained for revising the Old Testament. The revised version of the New Testament appeared in 1850; it was practically a new translation of some books, and a further revision appeared in 1854, 'by a committee of missionaries belonging to the German, London and Wesleyan Societies, appointed by the Madras Auxiliary Bible Society'. In that year Weigle died, but he had already retranslated a large part of the Old Testament, and his draft was revised by the committee, C. Campbell and B. Rice of the L.M.S. doing most of the work. A tentative edition was printed in 1860, and in 1865 the complete Bible was issued.

In 1890 most missionaries in the Kanarese field had come to the conclusion that a new revision was needed, and in 1891 a committee was appointed, with representatives from the three missions concerned. They unanimously adopted three main principles which involved an entirely new translation on fresh lines and which sufficiently illustrate the typical problems of a translator: (1) that the vocabulary and idiom should represent such a blend of the northern and southern dialects as would be intelligible in both parts of the country; (2) that the language adopted should be easily understood by the common people as well as by the scholar; and (3) that slavish literalness should be avoided. Tentative editions of the Gospels were issued and in 1901 the New Testament appeared, with Henry Haigh of the Wesleyan Mission as chief reviser. He retired in 1903, his place being taken by E. P. Rice of the L.M.S., son of B. Rice, who had done valuable work on Weigle's committee, and the definitive edition appeared in 1907. The work of Old Testament revision along similar lines has been carried to completion by the Committee, the Chief Revisers having been successively Henry Haigh, E. P. Rice, H. Risch of the Basel Mission, and finally W. H. Thorp of the Wesleyan

Mission; an edition of the whole Bible with references was issued in 1934.

South of the Mysore State lie the Nilgiris, the 'Blue Mountains' which rise to a height of over 8,000 feet and provide Madras with its hot-weather sanatoria. These hills are the home of various tribes, and among them the BADAGAS, 'the men from the north', occupy an important place. They are a Dravidian race who probably emigrated from Mysore about three hundred years ago: they are agriculturists and by their steady industry they have become wealthy and prosperous: they number about 35,000. Their language is a dialect of Kanarese. A retired Madras civilian, George Casamajor, devoted the closing years of his life to the evangelization of the Nilgiri tribes, residing at Kaity, the headquarters of the Basel Mission in the hills. He died in 1850, but he had by that time translated the first eight chapters of Luke; his work was completed by C. Maericke of the Basel Mission and the Gospel was published in 1852. A revision of this appeared in 1890, and Mark followed in 1896. J. Kanaka, an Indian pastor, translated Jonah in 1902. Tamil has, however, for some years been the official language of the Nilgiris; it is taught in all schools and there will be little need for further translations into Badaga.

Another tribe in the Nilgiris is that of the TODAS. At the 1931 Census they numbered only 600 and they are steadily decreasing; they practise polyandry, a woman marrying all the brothers of a family. They are a purely pastoral people, herding buffaloes and doing dairy work. They worship their buffaloes, in addition to many other gods, the great religious ceremony of the year being the sacrifice of a male buffalo calf. They are a tall and handsome race, men and women with long black wavy hair and the men wearing their beards long. They live in little villages called 'munds', consisting generally of five houses each shaped like a half-barrel, built of rattan and thatched, and some 9 feet broad, 18 feet long and 10 feet high. The entrance is 32 inches high

and 18 inches wide, closed when necessary with a thick plank of wood which serves as a sliding door; there is no other opening. They regard themselves as the lords of the Nilgiris and are accepted as such by the Badagas, who pay them a yearly tribute of grain. They have been the subject of elaborate anthropological research, but their origin is still unknown. Their language is Dravidian. The Gospel of Mark was translated by Miss Ling, a missionary of the Church of England Zenana Mission at Ootacamund, with the help of a Tamil-speaking Toda, and published by the Madras Auxiliary in 1897. Since then John and Psalms have been issued, translated by Miss P. Grover of the same mission.

Another Dravidian language is TULU, which is spoken by over half a million people in the South Kanara District. The Basel Mission established itself at Mangalore in 1834 and three of the missionaries, C. Greiner, J. J. Ammann, and A. Bühner, translated the New Testament, which was brought out in instalments, Matthew appearing in 1842, and the whole being completed in 1847. Various books of the Old Testament followed. In 1885 the Madras Auxiliary became responsible for publication, and in 1892 a revised translation of the New Testament was brought out, the work of a committee of Basel missionaries.

CHAPTER VIII

Marathi

MARATHI IS THE MOTHER-TONGUE of nearly 21 million people, chiefly in Bombay, the Central Provinces, and Hyderabad. The area in which it is spoken is roughly in the form of a triangle, with its apex somewhat to the north-east of Nagpur in the Central Provinces, its base the western coast of India from slightly south of Surat to slightly south of Goa. Its boundaries are much more clearly defined than those of most Indian languages; only in the north-east, where it touches eastern Hindi, is there any real merging with its neighbours. The standard of style in Marathi is determined by Poona, for many years the political capital of Māhārāstra, the country of the Marathas, but there are two other main varieties: Konkani standard, spoken in the Northern Konkan, and the Marathi of the Central Provinces and Berar. Its chief literature is the devotional poetry, the earliest dating from about the thirteenth century, which in this as in some other Indian languages was one of the outcomes of the religious revival associated with the name of Ramanujachariar, himself a South Indian, but the source of a ferment which spread to all parts of the country. The nineteenth century has witnessed a great mass of literary production, largely the result of the impact of western science on exceptionally alert eastern minds; but among the rest it has produced one outstanding Christian poet, acknowledged as such throughout Māhārāstra, Narayan Vaman Tilak, some of whose poems, in their beautiful English dress, are now finding a place in the hymn-books of Western Christendom. The Maratha Brahmins, especially those coming from the Konkan, the coastline roughly from Bombay to Goa, have long had the reputation of being the ablest of all Brahmins, and

have made distinguished contributions in many fields of Indian life; but in general the Maratha has been more famous on the field of battle than in intellectual pursuits. From the days of their national hero, Sivaji, who rose against the Mogul emperors in the second half of the seventeenth century, the Marathas built up their confederacy and showed themselves to be masters of guerilla warfare in all parts of India, so that when the British appeared the Marathas had an empire larger than any Hindu power had ever known. It lacked the elements of stability, however, and soon broke to pieces. Maratha princes are still rulers of such famous Indian states as Baroda and Gwalior, though their subjects belong to other races. But the bulk of the population has always consisted of shrewd, self-respecting, and hardworking cultivators.

Marathi was one of the three languages of which Carey was appointed Professor in the College of Fort William at Calcutta, and in 1807 the Serampore Press issued 1,000 copies of the Marathi New Testament, followed in 1819 by the Old Testament. The work was in the first instance done by a pandit, but Carey's thoroughness is illustrated by what he wrote: 'Whatever helps we enjoy, I have never yet suffered a single word or a single mode of construction to pass, without examining it, and seeing through it. Brother Marshman and I compare with the Greek or Hebrew, and brother Ward reads every sheet.' But the pandit whom Carey employed spoke a dialect peculiar to a district near Nagpur, and the language thus proved useless for general circulation in the Marathi country. A little later, indeed, it was said that it was hardly possible anywhere to find any one who could read it connectedly. This Serampore version had the added disadvantage of being poorly printed, in an antiquated style of *Mōḍī*, the cursive, broken form of the Nagari script which is used in handwriting. In any case, Carey's work in Marathi translation must be written down as one of his failures. It was hardly even a foundation on which others could build; and yet it was almost certainly of this translation,

a failure, that the following incident was related in 1815 by a Baptist missionary in the neighbourhood of Nagpur, from which Carey's pandit had come: 'I here distributed Mahratta books. A servant of the English Resident, when he had obtained a book, and had read it, and heard it explained, said, "God is very gracious to me, thus to send to me the Holy Book. I will read it to all my friends." He called many of the inhabitants, and made known the contents of the New Testament, and gave away to them ten or twelve copies. He himself heard the word daily, and with the New Testament in his hand went to the Jemadar of the city, and gave it to him, thus honouring the word of our Lord, and declaring that all their books and *puranas* were the writings of man, and did the mind no good. He had many Hindu books by him, and used to read them daily. He now said he would read the Holy Book daily: it would do his mind good.'

Meanwhile, the London Missionary Society had sent its first missionary, Dr. John Taylor, to Bombay in 1807. He was so discouraged by the state of affairs that he gave up the missionary enterprise and accepted secular Government employment; but to him was due a translation of the Gospel of Matthew in Marathi, published in 1817 by the Bombay Auxiliary Bible Society, which had come into existence in 1813, before any missionary society had established itself there.

In that year 1813, however, marked by the issue of a new Charter to the East India Company, American missionaries arrived in Western India, and with very great difficulty secured a footing in Bombay. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions had been formed in 1810, as the result of the enthusiasm of a group of students who had banded themselves together four years earlier for the establishment of 'a foreign mission or missions'. In 1812 two little companies of missionaries sailed for Calcutta, but were refused permission to land; the Governor-General, Lord Minto, at first ordered them to return in the ships that had

brought them, but subsequently permitted them to go to any place not under the jurisdiction of the East India Company, and Mauritius was named. Adoniram Judson, who with one of his companions had become a Baptist by conviction since leaving America (the Board which sent him out was Congregationalist), ultimately found his way to Burma, and his heroic story forms one of the great classics of the missionary enterprise. Samuel Newell sailed for Mauritius, but in the course of a long and dangerous voyage buried his infant daughter at sea, and within a few days of their arrival at Mauritius his wife died there of consumption. Meanwhile, Gordon Hall and Samuel Nott had heard that the new Governor of Bombay, Sir Evan Nepean, was favourably inclined toward missionaries, and they accordingly decided not to go to Mauritius, and obtained passports from the police to proceed to Bombay or to Ceylon. Before their ship sailed, however, they learnt that orders had been issued for them to be sent to England, as they had not acted on their previous permission to go to Mauritius. However, no action was taken on this, and they succeeded in reaching Bombay in February 1813, nearly three months after embarking at Calcutta. The Governor permitted them to remain, though their coming at all instead of going to Mauritius had brought on them the suspicion of bad faith, and if they were to stay permanently the permission of the Governor-General had to be obtained. Dr. John Taylor, already in Government service, showed them every kindness, and in anticipation of permission being granted they started at once to learn Marathi.

The granting of permission, however, proved to be far from simple. England and America were at this time (1812-14) at war, and the missionaries were suspected of being implicated in some political plot, and, in spite of the efforts of an influential committee in Calcutta, the Governor-General issued orders that they should be sent out of India. To avoid this, in October they secretly embarked on a ship bound for Ceylon, Mrs. Nott and her child being left behind in Bombay :

the ship, however, proceeded no farther than Cochin, when orders overtook them from a not unnaturally angry Governor. They were sent back under arrest and required to give a bond for Rs.4,000 that they would not leave without permission: this they refused to do. They were, however, permitted to stay, with a warning that they might be closely confined if they again attempted flight. Word meanwhile came from their friends in Calcutta that the incoming Governor-General, Lord Moira, was favourably disposed; but Sir Evan Nepean still felt he must send them out of India. In spite of the most vehement protests, they were compelled to pack all their goods and have them ready for embarkation on the following day, when at last, on December 22nd, 1813, they were told that further action was deferred, and they were thus able to remain. On the strength of this not altogether satisfactory permission, Samuel Newell, who had come back as far as Ceylon from Mauritius, uncertain where he would be able to settle, decided to join them, which he did in March 1814. Final permission was given by the Governor in November 1815; they might stay so long as they conducted themselves 'in a manner agreeably to their office'. Their case had been considered by the Court of Directors in London, and the suspicious details in their conduct had been sufficiently explained to satisfy the Directors that they might be safely included under the terms of the charter of July 13th, 1813, under which English missionaries were permitted to live and work in India. Before this, however, Nott and his wife had had to sail for America on account of ill health, and only Hall and Newell remained to reap the fruits of their pertinacity.

Of the development of the work of the mission this is not the place to write; but they had already begun to preach in Marathi, and, apparently using the Serampore version as a basis, produced a Harmony of the Gospels, Scripture extracts, and Matthew's Gospel. They had some portions of the Serampore version re-written in the Bālbodh character (i.e. the usual literary Devanagari script, literally 'teachable

to children'). But as their knowledge of Marathi grew, they realized that the Serampore version must be disregarded; it was not in the language of Māhārāstra. They therefore gave themselves to a more thorough study of Hebrew and Greek, and made their own translation direct from the original into Marathi. Most of the New Testament was thus translated, as well as Genesis, and published by the mission at its own press and at its own expense. They had been joined in December 1816 by Horatio Bardwell, who had been sent as a missionary to Ceylon, but whose previous knowledge of printing made him a very valuable addition to the staff in Bombay till he was invalided to America in January 1821. The following month Newell died of cholera, contracted in visiting the sick. Others died within a few months of their arrival, and the little community had its full share of sorrow: of thirty children born in the mission up to 1832, eighteen are recorded to have died. Nothing, however, daunted the courage of those who remained. Prevented by political conditions from extensive touring, they worked in and near Bombay, and always there was the urgent work of translation and printing, to which they gave themselves with great vigour. Allen Graves and his wife had arrived in February 1818, and it was Graves who, after 1826, when Hall died of cholera, ministering in an epidemic near Nasik, was the sole survivor of the gallant band of missionaries who were the first in the Marathi field to translate and publish the Scriptures.

It was not till 1822 that they approached the Bombay Auxiliary Bible Society for help. The Society in London gave them a free grant of paper; the Bombay Auxiliary made an advance of Rs.4,000 to assist in publication, the American missionaries agreeing to furnish the Society with the equivalent in copies. The complete New Testament was issued in 1826. The method of translation was that each of the five translators, assisted by one or more pandits, was responsible for one part. Each of the others revised each part, comparing it with the original and sending in his remarks to the translator

of the part, who examined them and made such corrections as he thought fit. The usual procedure was to give the sense to the pandit direct from the original; the pandit then wrote it in his own words. Very little was written by the missionaries themselves, and that little only with the utmost care to include the pandit's corrections of idiom and style. Only two of the five translators lived to see the New Testament published, and when a revised edition had to be prepared, four years later, under the auspices of the Bible Society, only Allen Graves survived. In serious ill health he accepted responsibility for the revision, using all the helps that were available and pathetically trying to be faithful to the judgement of the colleagues who one by one had been taken from him. As far as language was concerned, he made it his aim 'to use pure, correct, and neither the highest nor the lowest Marathi words, but as far as may be, those best understood, and to render the different parts of the Marathi sentences as simple and idiomatical as practicable, but never to sacrifice sense to sound or show'.

Some felt that the American translation was stiff and obscure, and a specimen of another style of translation was provided by the Rev. William Mitchell of the Church Missionary Society, whose *Matthew* was published by private subscription in 1830.

By 1830 there were thus four Marathi versions of *Matthew* and two of the whole New Testament. The Serampore version was, in any case, not of use in western India, but when the question of a new edition was raised in 1831 and the comparative merits of the other translations passed in review, the general opinion of Marathi missionaries and scholars was that the American version should be the basis of a new revision, as on the whole the most faithful, but that free use should be made of Mr. Mitchell's as the most idiomatic. A translation committee was formed, including those who had already done such valuable work, as well as Molesworth, an army captain and author of a *Marathi Dictionary*, with the Rev. (afterwards Dr.) John Wilson of the Scottish Mission in

Bombay as its Secretary: from 1832 to 1853 Dr. Allen of the American Mission served on the committee and was mainly responsible for seeing the Scriptures through the press. The invaluable work of this committee, and of its successors, cannot here be traced in any detail; but the Bible was completed by 1847, four years after the death of Graves, the complete revision of the New Testament appeared in 1848, and the whole Bible was issued for the first time in one volume in 1855.

In 1851 an edition of the New Testament appeared, containing an independent translation of the four Gospels and Acts, made by the Rev. H. Ballantine of the American Mission at Ahmednagar, who had served for some time on the Revision Committee, with the help of his colleagues, bound with the rest of the New Testament in the 1848 version. This, known as the 'Nagar New Testament', was so satisfactory that it was adopted by the Bombay Auxiliary Bible Society as the basis of a new revision in 1857. This version, too, came under some measure of condemnation as being 'padre Marathi': it might serve for the Christian community who were acquainted with their own language as spoken by missionaries, but it would not commend its message by its style to those outside the Church. The call for revision was therefore again heard, and a corrected edition was issued in 1872. In 1879 the Rev. Baba Padmanji, an Indian Christian, was asked to prepare a list of necessary emendations, with a view to the revision of the whole Bible by a committee appointed in 1880, with Dr. Mackichan of the Scottish Mission as Secretary. By 1882 only Genesis and Ephesians had been done and it was realized that some one or more persons must be set apart for the work if it was to make progress. In 1893 Baba Padmanji was so set apart, and the committee was re-constituted with Dr. Mackichan as its Chairman. In 1902 he and Dr. J. E. Abbott of the American Marathi Mission were relieved by their missions of much of their work so that they might devote a substantial part of their time to revision. The method followed was to have the draft re-translation

made by the Indian Christian member of the committee. This was compared with the original Greek or Hebrew by the committee, with the help of a Hindu pandit, corrected and submitted to a larger committee for further criticism, and then as corrected published in a tentative edition. This was widely circulated and criticisms invited from both Indians and foreigners. These were gone over by the committees and then the translation as finally agreed on was published. The complete New Testament thus revised was published in 1907. (Baba Padmanji had died in 1906.) Work on the Old Testament followed, and the complete revised Bible in Marathi appeared in 1924; Dr. Mackichan had retired from India in 1920 and his place as Convener of the Revision Committee was taken by the Indian Christian Canon Joshi, who himself passed away very suddenly after a meeting of the committee in 1923.

It was too much to hope that even such a revision, produced with such expenditure of time and devoted labour, would satisfy all readers, and, as all who have been engaged in its production would agree, the day of the perfect Marathi rendering of the Bible has not yet come. Meanwhile, as has been mentioned elsewhere, an independent translation of the New Testament has recently been issued by an Indian Christian lay member of the Revision Committee, Rao Bahadur B. N. Athavle, and has itself been the object of warm praise and of no less warm criticism. The appearance of the revised New Testament provoked the saintly Pandita Ramabai to produce a translation of her own of the whole Bible, which she hoped would be more in harmony with the Marathi mind. She was helped by a man of the Bene Israel community who knew Hebrew, and by her own daughter Manoramabai, who learnt New Testament Greek when she was in America. It is said that the excessive literalness of this version has in a number of places proved fatal to the Marathi idiom, and for this and other reasons her work remains as a monument to her love of the Bible rather than as a permanently valuable contribution to Marathi Bible

translation. Her own old Bible is preserved in the Bombay Bible House and shows how diligently she studied the Word of God.

Before leaving Marathi, mention should be made of the translations made by the Serampore missionaries into the Konkani dialect (not to be confused with Konkani standard), spoken in the southern part of the Konkan, as well as in Belgaum and by Christians in the North and South Kanara Districts; they were assisted in this by the generous donation of £500 from the fund raised by Mr. William Hey of Leeds, an eminent surgeon, for printing approved translations of the New Testament in Indian languages in which it had not yet appeared. They issued the New Testament in 1818, and the Pentateuch in 1821, in the Devanagari character. In 1884 the Madras Auxiliary printed the Gospel of John, and the following year Mark, in the Serampore version, transliterated into Kanarese characters. In 1920 and 1925 the Gospels of Mark and John were issued in Roman characters by Bombay, in a new translation by Dr. R. H. Goheen. The original home of this dialect is Goa, and in distant times it seems to have had a literature of its own, which was apparently destroyed by the Inquisition in the early days of the Portuguese occupation. But under the Roman Catholics a new literature came into being, the first writer being an Englishman, Thomas Stephens, who reached Goa in 1579 and died in 1619. Among other works, he wrote a Konkani paraphrase of the New Testament in metrical form which was reprinted several times and is said to be a favourite book among Christians to this day.

CHAPTER IX

Gujarati

GUJARATI AND RAJASTHANI, which Dr. Grierson describes as 'almost co-dialects of the same form of speech', are the languages spoken in the square block of country about 400 miles broad stretching from the neighbourhood of Agra and Delhi to the Arabian Sea. The number of those whose mother-tongue is Gujarati in the 1931 Census is 10,849,984; Rajasthani numbers 13,897,896. Gujarati is spoken in the northern part of the Bombay Presidency, with Baroda and the other states adjoining it. It is the language of the Parsis, and is largely used in Bombay as the commercial language. Rajasthani is the language of the Rajputana states and the adjoining parts of Central India. Both of them are described as 'intermediate' languages, formed by the blending of the original 'midland' speech of the Gangetic Doab (of which some account is given in the chapter on Urdu and Hindi) with the language of the 'Outer Band', originally spoken in what is now Gujarat and Rajputana. The Gujaratis have long been one of the leading mercantile races of India, while Rajputana, with its desert tracts and sparse population, is the home of the warrior princes, the Rajputs, whose stories are the very stuff of romance. The Serampore missionaries produced versions of the New Testament in several of the dialects of Rajasthani, such as Marwari and Jaipuri, but no other translations have been published in them: little research has been done in Rajasthani literature; it contains many heroic chronicles, such as Tod has used in his *Annals of Rajasthan*, and also a considerable religious literature, much of which seems to have been written in the Braj Bhasha, the Hindu literary dialect of Hindostani. Gujarati was also one of the Serampore languages, but long before this there is a

trace in the work of the indefatigable Schultze that he was interested in this as well as in Tamil, Telugu and Dakhini; among his papers was found a version of the Lord's Prayer in the ordinary Gujarati character and in Roman letters, together with an interlinear translation in Latin. The Serampore missionaries published Matthew in 1809, but they suspended their work till 1813, and it was thus only in 1820 that their New Testament was issued. It unhappily proved to be barely intelligible in Gujerat itself, the pandit employed at Serampore evidently using some local dialect, the exact habitat of which has never been discovered. When missions began to work in this area they were therefore not helped by the Serampore version, though after it had been printed the translation was made over to the L.M.S. at Surat; here as in many other cases the main line of Biblical translation starts locally and not in Bengal.

The London Missionary Society's first missionary to Bombay, John Taylor, found conditions so impossible that, as has been told in dealing with Marathi, he accepted Government service, though he continued to have the fullest sympathy with the missionary enterprise and to give much-needed help to other missionaries as they came out. He started to translate the New Testament into Gujarati, but he had only finished Matthew when he died. The Bombay Auxiliary Bible Society published the New Testament in 1821, the work of two other L.M.S. missionaries who had reached Surat in 1815. They were William Fyvie and J. Skinner, and thirty years later Fyvie gave some account of their first impressions: they found things 'most gloomy'. 'There was not one person in the place who at that time cared for his soul; but one evening, when much depressed by this fact, a saying of John Wesley's was brought to Mr. Fyvie's mind. It was, "If you have not a Christian friend, endeavour to make one." On this Messrs. Skinner and Fyvie acted; they preached the Gospel to a European regiment then at Surat. The Lord blessed their labours; an officer, Donald Mitchell, was converted, retired from the Army, entered the Church,

came out to India as the first missionary from the Scottish Missionary Society; and on his dying bed his last words were, "Let the whole earth be filled with Thy glory, O Lord!"'

The two men set to work without delay; they knew nothing of the translation into Gujarati that was being done at Serampore, though presumably they used Taylor's version of Matthew, and by 1817 they had translated the whole of the New Testament and the Pentateuch: the *pandit* they employed apparently knew no English; he seems to have worked from a Hindi version, and they revised his work, with reference to the original Greek. By 1820 they had set up their own mission press in Surat and on it printed the New Testament in eight parts. Before it appeared, however, Skinner had died, in 1820; but Fyvie was joined by his brother Alexander in 1822, and the two of them were able to bring out the complete Old Testament, the last of its eighteen parts appearing in 1823. It was a marvellous achievement for men who had had no special education. From the meagre records available, it appears that William Fyvie was born at Methlee, Aberdeenshire, in 1788, and that he studied at Gosport; beyond this there is nothing of his early years. He had evidently studied some Hindostani before leaving England, for he writes to the Directors of the L.M.S.: 'I am glad to inform the Directors that Abdullah, our teacher at Stepney, was perfectly correct that we should find great benefit for the time we spent in attending to this language while in London.' In the early letters little is said of their difficulties in learning Gujarati without a dictionary or any other help; but in November 1817, they are busy with translation, not only of the New Testament and the Pentateuch but of 'Dr. Watts' Catechism and several tracts'. 'These are translated with the aid of our native moonshee, and we correct them and we hope to have them ready for printing in August, by the time a press can be got out from England to us. We are preparing a Grammar and Dictionary of the Guzaratee language. Our having found a person who perfectly understands the art of printing and who wishes to join us we consider

as a circumstance peculiarly favourable to our mission. I refer to Mr. Mason. His father an Englishman and his mother a Portuguese.' Skinner had learnt a little about practical printing, but his early death put additional burdens on to Fyvie: he and his brother were joined, however, by a 'well-qualified printer', Thomas Salmon, sent out by the L.M.S. in 1825, who remained in the Mission till 1833. In the years 1827 to 1829 they issued from the Surat press a complete Bible in Gujarati, in four quarto volumes in large type. They brought out a revision of their New Testament in parts, the whole being ready by 1832. Alexander Fyvie died in 1840 at Surat, where his tomb is still to be seen: William Fyvie remained in Surat until the L.M.S. handed over its work there to the Irish Presbyterian Mission in 1847. He then retired from the field, and ultimately died at St. Heliers, Jersey, in 1863, at the age of 74. Singularly little is to be discovered about William Fyvie; but his modest and unobtrusive work in translation alone laid massive foundations for Gujarati Christian literature, and an occasional word in his letters gives an insight into the spirit with which he did it. He rejoices in the extensive circulation of the Scriptures in Gujarati, and adds, 'were a prayerful spirit poured out on all who contribute to the funds of the Bible Society, no doubt glorious results would follow—for then we should have reason to believe that God's word would enter into many hearts, and give spiritual light and understanding to many souls now in darkness'.

In 1840 and 1841 Matthew and Acts were published in diglot editions of English and Gujarati, and proved popular among students who were learning English. A little earlier than this, in 1836, others had begun to be associated with the Fyvie brothers in revision work. In 1846 it was reported that no copies of the New Testament were available, but it was not until 1853 that a revised version of the New Testament appeared, edited by Dr. John Wilson with the help of two Parsi converts, Hormazdji Pestonji and Dhanjibhai Nauroji. Shortly after joining the revision committee, Pestonji wrote,

in 1848: 'Fourteen years ago, a copy of one of the Gospels and a couple of tracts were put into my hands, at Daman, by a Missionary of the Cross, who, as I had afterwards learnt, had been out in that direction on a tour towards Gujarat. Thirteen years ago, my own father, having read and re-read these books, occasionally recommended his mischievous sons to read especially the fifth, sixth, seventh, and a few other chapters of the Gospel (it was the Gospel according to Matthew), and a page here and there of one or both of the tracts. Twelve years ago, a strong suspicion was manifested in my family and amongst my friends, that these books, however good in themselves, might one day destroy my faith in Parsiism, and prove the ruin and reproach of my father's house and nation. Eleven years ago, having purchased an English Bible and the four Gospels in Gujarati, I often read it in both these languages together, not with a view, however, to profit my soul, but simply to learn the foreign language by comparing the two translations. Nearly ten years ago, the fears of the family and friends were realized. A power from on high now convinced the hitherto blind reader of the Bible, that it was not the language or literature, but the matter and mode of divine instruction—not the mere letter, but the spirit—that was to be so assiduously pursued. Since then, being first blessed, I have more or less endeavoured, in my humble way, to become a blessing to others, and to make the ever-blessed Bible itself an ever-increasing blessing to both. And, blessed be God, the once deluded wretch has been and has enlightened his fellow-men of this same blessed Book. Such are the wonders the Bible has done, and is still doing, mediately and immediately, amongst the countless numbers of our race. Say, then, is not the Bible a sweet name, and precious in the believer's ear? Are not its riches sure, and its results successful?' Mr. Pestonji died in 1891, having been a member of the Gujarati Translation Committee for over forty years.

A new version of the New Testament appeared in 1857, embodying earlier work of W. Clarkson and W. Flower,

L.M.S. missionaries in Baroda, and the Irish Presbyterian R. Montgomery. This was printed at Surat by Robert Young, later known to wider fame after his return to Scotland as the compiler of the Analytical Concordance to the Bible. In 1860 a revised edition of the complete Old Testament was published. In 1864 Dhanjibhai Nauroji's version of the New Testament in the Parsi dialect of Gujarati was published by the Bombay Auxiliary. The 1861 version of the Old Testament was far from satisfactory, but, though a standing committee for revision was appointed, it was never able to meet for long enough to make real progress. In 1881 a committee of members of the Irish Presbyterian Mission was formed and in 1887 they brought out a version of the Gospels and Acts, followed in 1889 by the complete New Testament. Ten years later a tentative version of the Old Testament was ready, and in that year, 1899, for the first time the whole Bible in Gujarati appeared in one volume. In 1903 a revised edition of this was published, and in 1908 an edition appeared with the references of the English Revised Version.

Subsequent revisions proved to be necessary, and as revisions of various portions of the New Testament were approved they were embodied in the editions that issued from the Surat press. In 1931 a fresh Revision Committee was appointed, with the hope that it might finish a complete revision of the Bible in five years: this hope has not been realized, owing to the pressure of other work.

CHAPTER X

Languages of Assam and the North East

NO PART OF INDIA, and probably no part of the world, presents more interesting problems to the anthropologist and philologist than the country that is included in Assam. Largely owing to the structure of the land, as well as to more obscure causes, there is an extraordinary diversity of languages and dialects: a few years ago it was said that 176 had been classified. In this chapter no attempt is made at a full account even of those into which the Scriptures have been translated, but a brief sketch is given of the work that has been done, with some indication of the relation of the various languages to one another.

ASSAMESE itself is the language of the people of the Brahmaputra Valley. They are a mixed race, with a chequered history. It appears probable that the original settlers in the valley were of Aryan stock, but at an early date the Mongols obtained the sovereignty. About A.D. 1300, the Ahoms, Shan invaders from the Chinese border, gained possession and under their rule for some centuries the valley seems to have enjoyed peace and prosperity. The Ahoms ultimately, however, became corrupted and enervated, and when they were unable to settle a succession dispute among themselves the Burmese were invited to come in and arbitrate. They were not loth to do so, but were less willing to return to their own country. Assam suffered grievously from their barbarity, till in 1826 it was ceded to the British, as one of the results of the Burmese War.

The religion of the people was largely Hinduized from its original animism, and the language too is closely allied to Bengali. The 1931 Census Report calls attention to the great

changes that are coming through immigration, not only of the garden coolies of aboriginal stock, but of Muslim cultivators who have of recent years swarmed into the lower districts of the valley and opened up large areas of waste land. 'Prolific breeders and industrious cultivators, but unruly and uncomfortable neighbours, these immigrants threaten to swamp entirely the indigenous inhabitants and in the course of two or three decades to change the whole nature, language and religion of the Brahmaputra Valley.'

The Serampore translation in Assamese, begun in 1810, suffered in the fire of 1812; but the New Testament appeared in 1819 and the whole Bible in 1832. It proved to be of little practical use, largely through the carelessness or perversity of the pandit who was employed, and through containing too large an element of Sanskritic words. Carey had set apart James Rae, an ex-soldier, as a missionary for work in Assam in 1829; but it was not possible for this to be pursued and it was the American Baptist Mission which a few years later established itself there. The American Baptists were eager to open up work in China and Tibet, and hoped to win an entrance through Assam. Two men, Nathan Brown and O. T. Cutter, a printer, both of whom had been in Burma, after a four months' voyage in small boats up the Ganges and Brahmaputra, founded work at Sadiya: by 1838 the Sermon of the Mount had been translated, and in 1847 Nathan Brown's version of the New Testament was issued from the Mission Press at Sibsagar. (It is of interest that Nathan Brown after leaving India went to Japan, and that he had an important share in the first translation of the New Testament in Japanese, which was issued in 1879.) From 1860 onwards portions of the Old Testament were issued as they were translated by various hands, though it was not till 1903 that the completed Old Testament, revised by A. K. Gurney, was published. The Bible Society had been responsible for the expense of Old Testament publication from the first, but until 1913 the Baptists had published the New Testament, as they wished to have their own translation

of the word *baptizo*. In that year, however, it was agreed that the word should be transliterated and the way was thus opened for the Bible Society to issue the New as well as the Old Testament.

KHASI is the mother-tongue of 234,387 people, living in the Khasia and Jaintia Hills of Central Assam. Their land is one of steep ridges, running east and west and rising to about 6,000 feet, with elevated tablelands lying between. They are a democratic race and many of them still live in their primitive communities under elective chiefs, called Siems, of whom there are twenty-five; they are politically subordinate to the British Government, but they have independent jurisdiction and they pay no tribute. They have matriarchal succession; they place monoliths over their dead, and their religion is largely animistic. Their language, which used to be regarded as an isolated form of speech, as it is neither Aryan nor Tibeto-Sinitic, is now recognized as belonging to an independent group, the Mon-Khmer sub-family of the Austro-Asiatic family of languages, which can be traced across India from the Punjab and Central India, through the Nicobar Islands, to Malaya.

Serampore issued the New Testament in what was thought to be Khasi, in the Bengali character, in 1831, and in 1834 was issued an edition of Matthew in Roman character, revised by A. B. Lish, an Anglo-Indian youth who was the pioneer of Baptist work at Cherrapunji; he was set apart as a missionary in 1833, but five years later he was compelled by ill health to return to the Plains. In 1840 the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists began their mission work in the Khasia Hills, and in 1845 T. Jones submitted his version of Matthew to the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society, which published it in the following year. Jones and his colleagues were the first to reduce the language to written form; they took the dialect spoken round Cherrapunji, where they had settled, and succeeded in making it the language used throughout the Khasia Hills. The Roman character was adopted and is used

in all versions. The four Gospels and Acts appeared ten years later, and on the death of Jones his colleague, W. Lewis, completed the New Testament, which was printed in London in 1871. A revised edition appeared in 1885, the chief reviser being J. Roberts, who was also chiefly responsible for the Old Testament, the first part of which appeared in the same year, the third and concluding part coming out in 1891. In 1897 the whole Bible was produced in a one-volume edition for the first time. The work of the mission has largely transformed the character of the population in the Khasia Hills; many of them have become Christians and they are keen students of the Bible and deeply interested in the British and Foreign Bible Society, with which they feel they have a special link, through the story of the Welsh girl, Mary Jones, and their own indebtedness to Welsh missionaries for the Gospel. In the *Centennial Review* of the Calcutta Auxiliary (1912) Dr. James M. Macphail remarked that in the ten-year period ending in 1910 the Scriptures had been supplied to one in four of the population in the Khasia and Jaintia Hills. He said too that the Christians there were prepared to pay higher prices than usual for vernacular Bibles, and suggested that the higher price might perhaps be responsible for the keen demand! Certainly in few language areas is the circulation of the Scriptures so high in relation to the literate population as in these hills.

GARO. To the west of the Khasia Hills, in Western Assam, where the great River Brahmaputra turns to the south and enters the plain of Bengal, lie the Garo Hills, whose inhabitants in earlier days were a continual menace to the people on the plains below them. They are of Mongolian stock, and even among themselves were broken up into unfriendly clans. As early as 1790 the British made some efforts to reduce them, but even in the middle of the nineteenth century they were still raiding the plains, so that from 1852 onwards punitive expeditions had to be sent against them: they were in a land 'of jungle-covered crags and deadly

climate, standing out obstinate and defiant, a secret lair and inaccessible fortress of ruthless and deadly foes'; but in the expedition of 1872-3 they were finally reduced to submission. In 1867, the year in which the American Baptist Mission started work among them, at Goalpara, the Garos were described by the Chief Commissioner of Assam as 'blood-thirsty savages', 'most desperate and incorrigible' and 'deserving extermination'. To-day 230,674 people speak Garo as their mother-tongue: the language is described as belonging to the Assam-Burmese branch of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family of the Indo-Chinese family of languages. There is a considerable Christian community, practical, swift, and business-like, and when the Secretary of the Bible Society visited them a few years ago he was presented with a Garo sword and spear, with a clear understanding on the part of the people that in the Bible they had received something sharper than a two-edged sword, and that they must 'study war no more'.

The first American Baptist Missionary to translate the Scriptures into Garo was T. J. Keith. The earlier workers had already been engaged in Assamese and continued to use that as the medium of their work. Keith, however, started in 1872 by learning Bengali, the language of the Government schools, and then, with the help of the partially educated Garos, he translated Matthew, which was issued from the Baptist Mission Press in Calcutta in 1875. The other Gospels were similarly translated by the Garos from Bengali and Assamese and, after revision by Keith, were published.

Keith's place was taken by M. C. Mason and E. G. Phillips, and they proceeded to translate the rest of the New Testament and the book of Genesis. The mission station was removed in 1877 from Goalpara to Tura, the Government headquarters, and there for some forty years these two men, friends from their schooldays in America, and married to two sisters, were privileged to work together in the work of the mission and in the great task of Bible translation. Their

earlier work was printed in the Bengali character, but later the Roman character was adopted, as being much easier for the Garos to learn; the change was approved by Government for use in school books in 1902 and has fully justified itself. As their facility in the language grew, the missionaries themselves did the translation work from the first, instead of allowing the Garos to do it from the Bengali or Assamese and then revising it. The New Testament was completed in 1895. In the midst of the manifold activities of missionary life and much other literary work translation of the Old Testament was carried on, chiefly by Dr. Mason and Miss Bond, and a Garo, Modhunath Momin, and various books were issued as they were ready. Dr. Phillips died in 1921, Miss Bond and Modhunath in 1924; but Dr. Mason was spared to complete the work and to see it through the press. The whole Bible was issued in 1924.

Thus, in a few lines, can be summed up the achievement of a lifetime of devoted service, in the course of which the Gospel message has been seen to do its transforming work for a whole community. It is worth while to pause and recall something at least of the toil that is involved in such translation work, and what is here said may be said with substantial appropriateness of very many of the translations that are referred to in this book. From time to time reference has been made to the wives and families of the pioneers, especially when tragedy has come; but those who read between the lines will remember not only that part of the price which has been paid for India's Bible; they will also recognize something of the debt that is owed to many women who have sustained their husbands through long years, and in a great many cases have given unobtrusive, patient, invaluable help in the actual work. Dr. Mason, in reviewing the work of Garo translation, says that without Mrs. Mason's continued interest and helpfulness the work could never have been done, and he quotes some sentences written by her in a private letter to a personal friend on the completion of the Old Testament. (The background is yet more clearly seen

in the light of the fact, which Dr. Mason told to the present writer some years ago, that, early in his career, in the seventies of last century, the doctors gave him only six more months to live if he stayed in India; no insurance company would insure his life until he was seventy years of age.) Mrs. Mason wrote:

‘Having reduced the language to writing, the whole Bible was to be written by hand with pen, much at first with strange and foreign characters. Upon returning from furlough the last time in 1915, although my husband had to take charge of the Middle English School here and of the building and repair work, we at once set to work to revise Genesis and got to printing as soon as we could. From that the work has gone steadily forward, book after book, all the time all kinds of work going on, from writing the first draft, reading first proof of one set, second of another, and third of another, making references, editing, correcting, typing—oh, when I look ahead from the first reading of the proof of Genesis it seems a very long way to the end of Malachi! How long, only those know who have done similar work. Many a day not more than one verse translated. While the Hebrew must be the guide, we used every available translation in English, all we could of Indian languages, sometimes referring to German, French, or Swedish in the effort to get the real meaning.

‘It would weary you to tell of the long list of interruptions from visitors, servants, Government officers.

‘Very many books on Natural History must be consulted to know about birds, animals, stones. There is no one at any of the presses who print for us who knows the language, and aside from this the typemen failing to carry out corrections sometimes leave two errors instead of correcting one!

‘As we look back over these years our hearts are filled with deep gratitude for health to carry on and for the privilege of doing this work which no one else could do.

But to think back along all the way we have come, we realize we could not do it again unless youth were renewed. The piles and piles and piles of MSS., the stacks and stacks and stacks of proof accumulated make my flesh ache and my nerves tingle as I think of all the weariness they represent. But that side is soon forgotten in the joy of seeing the Garos with a complete Bible in their own language. What it means to them who read for the first time of God's wonders, is not easily comprehended by us who have had it from infancy.'

CHAPTER XI

Languages of the North and North-East Frontiers

NEPALI. Christian work in Nepal began in 1707 when the Capuchin Mission of the Roman Catholic Church was established there; but sixty years later the country was invaded and conquered by the Raja of Gorkha, and the missionaries were sent away to Bettia in Bihar. Nepali was one of the languages to which the Serampore missionaries turned their attention, but the version of the New Testament which they issued in 1821 proved to be unintelligible. The fact that Nepalese come to Darjeeling for the season and then return to their own country meant that they were on the mind of missionaries who were not themselves able to live in Nepal, and in 1850 the Calcutta Auxiliary published St. Luke, and in 1852 Acts, both translated by the Rev. W. Start, an Anglican living in Darjeeling. In 1871 revised editions of these two books were issued, and other books followed, members of the Established Church of Scotland Mission at Darjeeling undertaking the work. The publication of the New Testament, mainly the work of the Rev. A. Turnbull, was followed at once by work on the Old Testament, the main burden of which was at first borne by Mr. Turnbull, who even after his return to Scotland continued to revise the draft version that was being made by Pandit Ganga Prashad in India. After his death in 1905 the main work was undertaken by the Rev. R. Kilgour with the aid of the pandit, Ganga Prashad, and with Mr. Turnbull's MS., and when Dr. Kilgour was appointed Editorial Superintendent of the Bible Society in London in 1909 he still continued the work, each successive section being

printed as it became ready, after proofs had been read first in Darjeeling by Ganga Prashad (by that time the Rev. G. P. Pradhan), and then by Dr. Kilgour in London. It was necessarily a slow and laborious business, but at last in 1915 it was possible to report the publication of the Old Testament, 'thus completing the Bible in the language of the Gurkhas'. The record in the Society's Report says: 'The Rev. Ganga Prashad Pradhan, who has been associated with the work from the beginning, co-operating first with the late Rev. A. Turnbull in the New Testament, and afterwards with the Rev. Dr. R. Kilgour in the Old Testament, has been specially congratulated upon the valuable services he has rendered to his fellow-countrymen.' Mr. Pradhan was made an Honorary Life Governor of the Bible Society. He died in March 1932.

LEPCHA is the language of an aboriginal tribe, living in Sikkim, which, like Nepal, is an independent state, and in the adjoining Darjeeling and Kalimpong district of British India. It is allied to Tibetan, but has a character of its own. The Rev. W. Start of Darjeeling, who was responsible for the first Nepali translations, tried to reach the Lepchas and the Bhutias also, and in 1845 he published at his own expense a lithographed edition of St. Matthew in Lepcha, a revised edition appearing four years later, together with a translation of St. John. The Rev. W. Niebel helped him in this, and also translated Genesis and Exodus i-xx, which was printed at the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, at Mr. Start's expense. In 1860 St. John and the Old Testament portions were printed by the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society, together with St. Luke, translated by the Church of Scotland Mission.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, out of a total Lepcha population of about 25,000, 2,000 were Christians. Dr. J. A. Graham of Kalimpong at that time spoke of them as 'the most sweet-tempered and lovable of all the Himalaya peoples', and at his request the Calcutta Auxiliary undertook to reprint Luke and Acts, the necessary revision being done

by Dr. Graham and Mr. David Macdonald. This was issued in 1908 and, 'owing to the large and straggling nature of the type it forms a bulky book of 213 pages'; each copy of the edition of 2,000 cost 8 annas to produce, but was sold at 1 anna.

It must suffice to pass in briefest review the remarkable work that has been done of recent years in translating the Scriptures for other tribes on the north-eastern borders of India. Elaborate ethnological studies of some of these tribes have been published, but it is impossible within the compass of this book even to touch that fascinating field.

On the borders of Tibet and north-east Assam live two comparatively small tribes, the Abors and the Miris, speaking one dialect, which is also understood by a neighbouring tribe, the Mishmis. A version of St. John's Gospel in this *Abor-Miri* language was made by an Abor Christian, and, after being revised by the Rev. J. Selander of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, was published by the Calcutta Auxiliary of the Bible Society in 1932.

For the Kachins of north-east Assam, who speak a language belonging to the same group as Garo, and number over 900,000, translations have been made in two dialects. In *Dimasa* (or 'Hills') *Kachari*, St. John was brought out in 1905, the translation being the work of the Rev. J. G. Williams, of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Mission. *Bodo* or *Mechi* (or 'Plains') *Kachari* is spoken in three central districts of the Assam Valley, Darrang, Nowgong and Kamrup, as well as in Goalpara, Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar. The Rev. C. Bechtold of the Church of Scotland Mission translated St. Mark and St. John in 1906. He had made a study of the language for thirty-six years and was the only man able to make a translation, though he had long left the country. In 1910 it was reported that these versions were strongly criticized by those who were actually working among the people, and they insisted that revision was

necessary before anything else was published. Mr. Bechtold had translated much of the rest of the New Testament, but apart from the Gospels no other books have been published, as, after careful inquiry on the field in 1920, it was decided that there was at that time no need for further publication in Bodo. In 1935, however, St. Matthew was published in a kindred language, *Boroni*, translated by the Rev. A. Kristiansen, of the Santal Mission of the Northern Churches at Gaorang, Assam.

Another language of the Bodo group is *Rabha*, and in the *Rangdania* dialect of this, which is spoken in the Goalpara district, the Calcutta Auxiliary published St. Mark, translated by the Rev. A. C. Bowers of the American Baptist Mission, in 1909. This was in the Bengali characters, and even then Bengali as the medium of education in the schools had begun to supersede the local dialects, so that further publication was unnecessary.

Mikir, the language of a people living mainly in the Mikir Hills in the east of the Nowgong District, Assam, belongs to the Naga-Bodo group of languages. The American Baptists had published their own translations of Gospels, but in 1917 they asked the help of the Bible Society, and in 1918 editions of the first three Gospels appeared, prepared by the Rev. J. M. Carvell of the Baptist Mission, with transliterated terms for 'baptize' and its cognates. St. John followed, and by 1931 the whole New Testament was issued: the translation has proved acceptable and Mikirs who have been evangelized by the Welsh Presbyterian Mission and by the S.P.G. use it, as well as the Baptists.

The *Nagas* are a large tribe with many sub-divisions inhabiting the hill country between north-east Assam and Burma. In the 1931 Census 349,111 is given as the total group population. The American Baptist Mission is working among them, and as early as 1890 it had published St. Matthew in the *Angami* dialect, followed by other Gospels.

In 1918, however, the Bible Society came in to help, and issued a translation of Revelation made by the Rev. J. E. Tanquist of that Mission, and by 1928 the whole New Testament had been published. A revised version is being prepared by Mr. Tanquist and his colleagues. A similar pioneering work was done by the American Baptists in the *Ao Naga* dialect, their publication of portions beginning in 1901. The Bible Society was asked by the Mission to come in to help in 1913 and by 1930 the whole New Testament had been translated by the Baptist missionaries, the Rev. R. B. Longwell and the Rev. W. Smith, with the help of Naga Christians, and published by the Calcutta Auxiliary of the Bible Society. In 1935 a tentative edition of Genesis was published. It was hoped that this translation would meet the needs also of the *Lhota-Nagas*, but it was found that for them another version was required (there are about a thousand Christian Lhotas) and in 1932 St. Mark was issued. It was prepared in the first instance by three Lhotas and carefully revised by the Rev. B. J. Anderson, in the light of criticisms offered by Mr. J. P. Mills, I.C.S. St. Matthew was issued in 1935.

The Rev. J. E. Tanquist, whose work in Naga Angami has been noted above, is also responsible with his Naga helpers for a version of St. John in *Naga, Rengma*, issued in 1928. Acts was translated in 1935. At the same time Mr. Tanquist and an Angami Christian pastor, Zapuzhulie, translated St. Mark into *Naga, Sema*, a version of Acts following in 1935.

In another part of the Naga field, translations into *Tangkhul Naga* had been made by the Rev. W. Pettigrew of the American Baptist Mission. He reduced the language to writing and in 1904 the Gospel of St. John was issued in Roman characters: other Gospels and Acts followed in the next two or three years and by 1913 his translation of the New Testament up to the end of the Second Epistle to the

Corinthians was ready. This was issued by the Calcutta Bible Society in one volume, some of the Gospels having already appeared in revised editions. The work of translating the rest of the New Testament continued to be carried on by Mr. Pettigrew, and the whole book was issued in 1927.

Yet another Naga dialect is *Naga*, *Zeme*, or *Kachcha* and in this St. Mark was published in 1928, the translation being the work of Sumlala, a Lushai-Kuki pioneer evangelist, and missionaries of the Welsh Presbyterian Mission.

Mr. Pettigrew has also been responsible for translation into *Manipuri* (or Meithi), the mother-tongue of 390,000 people in the Manipur State, Assam, Eastern Bengal and part of Burma. (Smith, in his *Life of Carey*, describes them as 'the curious Hindoo snake-people on the borders of Burma, who have taught Europe the game of polo.') This was one of the languages in which the Serampore missionaries issued the New Testament in 1827. It belongs to the Kuki-Chin group of the Assam-Burmese branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Nearly seventy years later the Serampore version was in the hands of Mr. Pettigrew in preparing a translation of St. John, but he found it practically of no help. St. John, issued in 1896, was followed by St. Luke in 1899 and other books in succeeding years. In 1931 the complete New Testament was issued in Mr. Pettigrew's translation. Work is proceeding on the Old Testament.

In *Singpho* or *North Kachin*, a Tibeto-Burman language, spoken in the north-east of Assam, around the upper waters of the Irrawaddy, Luke, John, and Acts were published by the Bible Society in 1907, in an edition of 500 copies, at the cost of the Arthington Trustees. The translation was prepared in the first instance by Mr. T. M. Johnson of the Arthington Mission of Ledo from 1895 to 1900. It was revised and prepared for press by Mr. Cecil B. Theenseen, of Sibsagar, Assam, and the proof-reading was done in the Bible House in London.

LUSHAI is spoken by the tribes of the Lushai Hills, a mountainous region on the border between Assam and Burma: 60,471 people are shown in the 1931 Census as having it as their mother-tongue. The original inhabitants were Kukis, and the Lushais were invaders from the north who first appeared in 1840. For many years they were one of the most turbulent tribes on the north-east frontier of India, but in 1890-2 they were reduced to order. In 1897 the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Mission opened work at Aijal. The first translations into Lushai (Luke, John and Acts) were printed in London in 1899, the work of the Rev. J. H. Lorrain and the Rev. F. W. Savidge of the Baptist Missionary Society in the south of the Lushai country at Fort Lungleh. After some negotiations as to the system of orthography to be followed and on various other questions, an agreement was reached and in 1906 revised versions of the portions already published, and new translations of Matthew and Mark, were issued in Calcutta. The orthography adopted was that approved by the Assam Government. Other volumes followed, as a great religious movement among the Lushais and kindred clans created an urgent need for the Scriptures. Tentative editions of a number of the books of the New Testament were printed privately about 1911, the work of the Rev. D. E. Jones and Mr. Rowlands of the Welsh Mission, and, after revision, some of these were accepted by the Bible Society. In 1917 a New Testament was issued, consisting of the various portions translated by various hands and published during the previous years. Revision of this was at once set in hand, with the Rev. J. H. Lorrain in charge of it, and the revised New Testament was issued in 1924. Since then Mr. Lorrain has been at work on the Old Testament, and Genesis, Psalms and Isaiah have been published.

LAKHER is the language of a small tribe living in the hills between Burma and Assam. They call themselves 'Mara', 'Lakher' being the Lushais' name for them. It is not many years since they were notorious head-hunters. In 1912 the

Calcutta Auxiliary published an edition of St. John, prepared by Mr. R. A. Lorrain, of the Lakher Pioneer Mission at Sherkor, and during subsequent years his translations of all the other books of the New Testament have been issued, as well as the books of Jonah and Malachi in the Old Testament.

Behind this bald record lies a story of heroism and romance which has been told in outline in the Bible Society leaflet, 'In Unknown Jungles: The New Testament for the Lakhers', by the Rev. A. W. Young, formerly Bible Society Secretary in Calcutta. [It was in 1907 that Mr. and Mrs. Lorrain 'after tedious journeying across the seas, and along rivers, and by narrow jungle trails, reached the village of Sherkor, a lonely spot situated on one of the spurs of the North Arakan Yoma Mountains'. They had long wanted to do Christian work in unexplored territory and were led to this field by the desire of Christian Lushais that some one might be sent to the Lakhers, and by a request received in 1905 from the son of a Lakher chief that the Gospel might be brought to them as it had been to the Lushais. Very few of the people proved friendly to the foreigners; most were hostile or indifferent till 1909, when the birth of a daughter proved to be a turning-point in the relations between missionary and people. This little child, the first white baby born in Lakher jungles, aroused the greatest interest. From Sherkor and distant villages the Lakhers crowded the Mission compound to gaze with wonder and delight upon the infant in her cradle, and to offer their simple gifts of bananas, cucumbers and egg-fruit. 'Very soon it was evident that the little one was to bear throughout life the name and honour the Lakhers wished to confer on her in the title, *Tlósai zua nô*, which, being interpreted, means "the Lakher princess".' Progress was still slow but the tide had turned. The 'Lakher princess', with a perfect knowledge of the language of the people among whom she was born, was able to render invaluable help in later years in her father's translation work, and she remains at Sherkor (now as Mrs. M. L. T. Lorrain Foxal), giving her life to the service of the Lakhers. Many of them are now Christians.]

HMAR is a dialect spoken in the northern Lushai hills. It belongs to the Old Kuki sub-group of the Kuki-Chin group of languages. The Old Kukis were driven out of what is now known as the Lushai area, of which they were the earliest inhabitants that we can trace. A tentative edition of Mark was issued by the Calcutta Bible Society in 1920. It was prepared by the Rev. F. J. Sandy of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Mission, a revised version being issued in 1933. It seems improbable that any other books will be needed, as Lushai is likely to become the common language of all the Kuki tribes.

CHIN. There are four Chin dialects which have a place on the Bible Society list of translations, but two of them fall within the Burma agency of the Society and so outside the scope of this book. *Northern Chin*, or *Thado-Kuki*, is the language of the New Kukis and the *lingua franca* for all the Kuki dialects spoken in the northern Lushai hills and Manipur. In 1925 St. John's Gospel was translated by a Thado-Kuki catechist, Ngulhao, and after examination by the Rev. W. Pettigrew, was published by the Calcutta Auxiliary; by the end of 1935 all four Gospels, Acts and Romans had been published. In the *Thado*, *Vaiphei* sub-dialect, St. John, translated by Mr. Watkin R. Roberts of the Thado-Kuki Pioneer Mission, was issued by the Calcutta Auxiliary in 1917.

CHAPTER XII

Oriya, Santali, Mundari, &c.

ON APRIL 1ST, 1936, the Province of Orissa was inaugurated, on a linguistic basis, after negotiations that were initiated by the Government of India as early as 1903. In ancient days Orissa was part of the Kingdom of Utkal, which is mentioned in the Mahabharata, extending from the Ganges in the north to the Godavari in the south and retaining its independence till the latter half of the sixteenth century, when it was conquered by the Moghuls. The chief centre of the Oriya country was Puri, where the temple of Jagannatha—Vishnu as Lord of the world—has had world-wide fame as the home of the 'Juggernaut' car, 45 feet high, 35 feet square, with sixteen wheels each 7 feet in diameter, and drawn by hundreds of pilgrims in procession for a mile to the country residence of the god.

When the British arrived, the Oriya-speaking country came into their hands in different ways and at different times, and one result was that the different parts of the country were put under different administrative units—the Central Provinces, Bengal, Madras, and various feudatory chiefs all having responsibilities for what in the old days had been under one control. It is not surprising that race-consciousness largely disappeared, only, however, to revive with the spread of education; but it revived to such effect that in the latter part of the nineteenth century a proposal to make Bengali the language of the courts was successfully resisted. Meanwhile, the Central Government recognized that the large Oriya population (over 11 million in the 1931 Census returned Oriya as their mother-tongue) was in real danger of being neglected, because in each area it was a mere minority community, and, partly to secure more

efficient administration, and partly to relieve the pressure on the Bengal and Madras administrations, the proposal was made that the Oriya tracts in British India should be unified. Now at last this has been accomplished, and the new Province of Orissa, with a new capital still to be built with Cuttack as its base near the mouth of the Mahanadi River, is preparing to play its part in the councils of the new India. Oriya possesses a considerable religious literature going back to the fifteenth century, the first traces of it possibly dating three centuries earlier. Other forms of literature developed later, and to-day in Orissa as in other parts of India there is something of a modern school of writers, educated in English and with a background of English thought as well as eager to develop Oriya.

Oriya belongs to the same group of languages as Bengali and Assamese, and was one of the languages in which Carey and his helpers at Serampore did some of their earliest work. They began translation work in 1804. The New Testament was translated by a pandit from the Bengali, the version then being compared with the Greek by the missionaries; this was published in 1809, and by 1815 the publication of the books of the Old Testament was completed. Mission work was started by the Baptists and the translation was found to be intelligible. During subsequent years Amos Sutton of the Baptist Mission, Cuttack, revised parts of it which were published in a volume of selections by Serampore in 1839. The Cuttack Mission Press was established about that time, St. Mark's Gospel being the first book printed. The cost of this was borne by some ladies in Philadelphia. In 1840 the Calcutta Bible Society published a revised New Testament financed by the American and Foreign Bible Society, and in 1844 the Old Testament in Sutton's revised version was issued, this time in three volumes, the first edition, from Serampore, being in four. Dr. Sutton, as he later became, told an interesting story of the results in those early days of circulating the Scriptures even to those who cannot read, in one instance that had come within his own knowledge.

'A cart-driver on one occasion received the Gospel of Mark (in Oriya), but was unable to read it. He carried it, however, to a distant village. There another man happened to find it, and he read it, not only to himself, but to some others. The result was, that by this means nearly a dozen people were led to Christ. After a time they heard of the missionaries at Cuttack, and that they distributed similar books. A deputation was therefore sent to Cuttack, and these men, after attending service at the Mission Chapel, and thus finding that the instruction there given was the same as that contained in their precious book, applied to Mr. Sutton for further teaching. It was subsequently found that those who remained in the village were likewise Christians in heart.'

The next revision was that of the Rev. J. Buckley of Cuttack, whose New Testament was printed at the Cuttack Mission Press, 'for the Bible Translation Society', in 1862. Mr. Buckley, assisted by the Rev. Jagoo Roul, an able old Indian minister, went on with his revision work on the Old Testament, with financial help from the British and Foreign Bible Society, which also bore the total cost of publication when the Old Testament was issued, in 1872, in one volume.

In 1883 a verse translation of St. Matthew's Gospel appeared, the work of Makunda Das, an Oriya evangelist.

In 1902 a further revision appeared: it had been begun by Mr. Buckley, and was continued by the Revs. W. Miller and T. Bailey, and completed by J. G. Pike, all members of the Baptist Mission. They were helped by the Bible Society, which bore all the expenses of publication.

A few years later attempts were made to have a revision of the Bible, to be approved by a committee on which not only the Baptists but also the Schleswig-Holstein Lutheran Missions in the Vizagapatam District of the Madras Presidency would be represented; but, though some slight revision was made, the more ambitious scheme was not carried out. As these words are being written, fresh proposals for a revision have been made by the Lutherans, and the whole matter is under consideration.

SANTALI. The Santals are a Kolarian people whose original home was in the west and south-west of Bengal. They were, however, induced by the Bengal Government to settle in the area now known as the Santal Parganas, consisting chiefly of low-lying hills, and on the whole not easy of access. They are the most numerous aboriginal tribe of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, with a population in the last census of nearly 2 millions, of whom about 18,000 were Christians. It is interesting to note that of a total literate population of 14,585, no fewer than 3,712 were Christians. The Santals are given to wandering, and large numbers of them find their way to the tea-estates of Assam. They also provide much of the labour for the Bengal coalfields. A judgement passed on them nearly seventy years ago by Sir W. W. Hunter would be endorsed by more recent observers: 'They have neither the sullen disposition nor the unconquerable laziness of the very old hill-tribes of Central India. They have carried with them from the plains a love of order, a genial humanity, with a certain degree of civilization and agricultural habits. Their very vices are the vices of an oppressed and driven-out people who have lapsed from a higher state, rather than those of savages who have never known better things' (quoted in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; s.v. 'Santals').

Christian work began among the Santals with the opening of schools about 1850 by the C.M.S., but it was the Santal Rebellion of 1855-6 that first called attention prominently to this field. Sir W. W. Hunter (*Brief History of the Indian Peoples*, pp. 46-7), after a vivid description of the manners and customs of the Santals, thus tells the pathetic story of that rebellion: 'Until near the end of the (eighteenth) century, the Santals lived by plundering the adjacent plains. But under British rule they settled down into peaceful cultivators. To prevent disputes between them and the Hindu villagers of the lowlands, our officers set up in 1832 a boundary of stone pillars. But the Hindu moneylender soon came among them; and the simple hillmen plunged into debt. Their strong love of kindred prevented them from

running away, and they sank into serfs to the Hindu usurers. The poor Santal gave over his whole crop each year to the moneylender, and was allowed just enough food to keep his family at work. When he died, the lifelong burden descended to his children, for the high sense of honour among the Santals compels a son to take upon himself his father's debts. In 1848 three entire villages threw up their clearings, and fled in despair to the jungle. In 1855 the Santals started in a body of 30,000 men, with their bows and arrows, to walk to Calcutta and lay their condition before the Governor-General. At first they were orderly; but the way was long; they had to live, and the hungry ones began to plunder. Quarrels broke out between them and the British police; and within a week they were in armed rebellion. The rising was put down, not without mournful bloodshed. Their complaints were carefully inquired into, and a simple system of government, directly under the eye of a British officer, was granted to them. They are now a prosperous people. But their shyness and superstition make them dread any new thing.'

When the Rev. E. L. Puxley of the C.M.S. took up work among the Santals in 1860 he found them with no literature of their own and thus had to reduce their language to writing, which he did, using the Roman character. Ill health compelled his retirement three years later, but within that time he had translated St. Matthew's Gospel and the Book of Psalms into Santali. The Calcutta Bible Society published the Gospel in 1866, and in 1871 issued a small edition of Psalms. The C.M.S. missionaries went on with further translation, revising Puxley's Matthew and publishing Luke and John in 1877 and Acts in 1879.

Meanwhile, however, considerable differences of opinion had emerged in the missionary community as to the rendering of certain important terms. It was not entirely a difference between one mission and another (the Free Church of Scotland, the Baptist and Danish—'Indian Home'—Missions, were now also on the field), but within the same mission

groups there was divergence. A revision committee was appointed in 1880, with the Rev. F. T. Cole (C.M.S.) as chief reviser and with two other C.M.S. missionaries on it, and this published a revised St. Matthew in 1882. The main dispute was as to the terms for 'God' and 'Holy Ghost'. Some wished to retain indigenous Santali words and to convert them to Christian use, while others felt it desirable to introduce new words from Hindi with the new Christian ideas. It is one of the standing problems of the translator, and there will always be differences of opinion arising out of it. The solution reached at that time was a compromise: half the edition was printed with the Santali, and half with the Hindi words, and a note was pasted at the beginning of each copy: 'Santali Christians use both "Isor" and "Chando" for the Supreme Being; and also two words for the third Person in the Trinity, "Sonet" and "Dherm"—"Atma". Without deciding which are the best words, the half of this edition is printed with "Isor" and "Dherm Atma" and the other half with "Chando" and "Sonet Atma".'

This, however, was not the end of the difficulty, for the Danish missionaries used a third word 'Thakur' for 'God'. One of their missionaries, the Rev. I. O. Skrefsrud, had been at work on a translation of the New Testament since 1871. He offered to submit it to a committee for revision in 1881, but nothing came of this, and after careful revision by himself and his colleagues, Dr. Reumans and the Rev. P. O. Bodding, the four Gospels were printed at their own Mission press and published in 1892. Ten years later the rest of the translation of the New Testament was still in MS.

Meanwhile, the translation committee was reorganized in 1884, with Mr. Cole as chief reviser, and with Baptist and Free Church of Scotland representatives. They decided on the use of the Roman character, and on the term 'Isor' for 'God', and on this basis St. Luke was published in 1885. To meet the demand for an edition in Bengali character for the use of Santals who were acquainted with it, the new

version of Luke was transliterated by Mr. Cole and published in 1886. Mr. Cole went rapidly ahead of his committee and the Calcutta Auxiliary was able to publish a complete New Testament, only part of which had been revised by the other members of the revision committee, which for various reasons, including health, soon ceased to function. In 1893 a revised St. John in Bengali character was issued, under the editorship of the Rev. James Brown of the C.M.S., and Acts followed in 1894. At the same time, between September 1892 and 1895, an interesting experiment in publication was carried out by the issuing of Mr. Brown's translation of Proverbs, as a serial in a Santali paper called *Dharmak*, edited by the Rev. A. Campbell of the United Free Church of Scotland Mission.

In 1897 Mr. Cole proposed that the whole of the Old Testament should be translated into Santali, and a scheme was circulated by the Calcutta Bible Society among the various missions. Among the replies was one from the Danish missionaries, expressing their willingness to allow a translation already prepared by Mr. Skrefsrud and his colleagues to be used, with the word 'Isor' for 'God', if an edition was at the same time printed for the Indian Home Mission with the word 'Thakur'. It was agreed, after some specimen portions had been circulated for opinion among the various missions, that with certain modifications the translation would be acceptable, and in 1899 Mr. Boddington was appointed chief translator in co-operation with Mr. Skrefsrud, the revision being submitted in proof to the missionaries of the C.M.S. and the U.F.C.M. The work of revision was steadily carried on, but very slowly. It was not till 1906 that a section containing the books from Genesis to Ruth was ready to be issued from the press, and not till 1915 that the whole Old Testament was available. Mr. Skrefsrud had died in 1911 after a long illness at Benagaria, the headquarters of his mission in the Santal Parganas.

In 1904 on the initiative of the Rev. A. Campbell an attempt was made to reconstitute a revision committee for the

Santal New Testament in Roman character, with Canon Cole as editor. But the time was not ripe for a union version and it was found necessary to continue to issue two separate translations—one generally known as the C.M.S. version, the other as the Benagaria version—which had been generously presented to the Bible Society in 1906 by Dr. Skrefsrud and Mr. Bodding 'in the firm belief that the Society would take proper steps to use it as the basis of a New Testament which would be acceptable over the entire Santal field'. This hope has even yet not been fulfilled, and the Santal Christians still have translations that differ according to the Church to which they belong.

MUNDARI belongs to the same family of languages as Santali. It is spoken by the Kols in the Singbhum District of Chota Nagpur; Kol villages alternate with Santal. German missionaries of the Gossner Evangelical Lutheran Mission were uncertain as to their sphere of labour and, noticing this uncommon racial type among the coolies of Calcutta, felt the call to work among them in Chota Nagpur. Canton (*History*, iii, p. 387) quotes a description of them as 'a thick-lipped, black-haired, dark aboriginal race; worshippers of the dog and the Sahajan tree, warriors of the bow and the poisoned arrow, who lived on berries and game'. Their language had not been reduced to writing, but in 1873 the Rev. A. Nottrott asked for help from the Bible Society Committee in Calcutta and he and his colleague, the Rev. L. Beyer, produced a version of St. Mark in 1876 in the Devanagari character, and went steadily on with their translation of the Gospels and the rest of the New Testament. The complete New Testament was issued in 1895 and in 1899 the publication of Nottrott's translation of the Old Testament was begun. In 1906 with the help of the Bible Society Dr. Nottrott was set free by his Mission to complete the translation of the Old Testament. In order to ensure the acceptability of the version, a fresh start was made in 1909, on lines agreed upon by representatives of the three

missions working in Chota Nagpur, the Gossner Evangelical Lutheran, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Dublin University Mission. Dr. K. W. S. Kennedy worked in happy collaboration with Dr. Nottrott, and by 1911 the Old Testament was published. In the following year Dr. Nottrott, again in association with Dr. Kennedy, began the revision of the New Testament to bring it in line with the Old. During subsequent years Dr. Nottrott, by then retired to Germany, and Dr. Kennedy, Secretary of the Medical Mission of the S.P.G. in London, continued to work at the New Testament, portions of which were published as they were revised. In 1915, during the Great War, Dr. Nottrott wrote from Germany: 'I shall not interrupt my work on the Mundari New Testament, which has become my life-work, and shall thank God if He grants me time to finish it. One has to lose no time if he has entered his seventy-eighth year.' The desire of his heart was met, for in 1917 he was able to forward the remaining portion of his MS. revision of the New Testament, and the printing of it was resumed in India, the complete revised New Testament being issued in 1921. Further slight changes have needed to be made from time to time, but the Mundari Bible stands as a worthy monument to the devotion and scholarship of Dr. Nottrott, and the Mundari-speaking section of the great Christian community that has come into being in Chota Nagpur, whether Lutheran or Anglican, is happily in possession of one common version of the Scriptures.

BIHARI, spoken in Bihar and Chota Nagpur, has three dialects that are in the Bible Society list. *Magahi* or *Magadhi*, spoken in the Hazaribagh District, was one of the Serampore ventures, the New Testament being issued in 1824. In 1890 Carey's St. Mark, revised by Dr. Grierson, was printed by the Calcutta Auxiliary, and in 1903 the same Gospel, translated by the Rev. G. F. Hamilton of the Dublin University Mission, was printed at Darjeeling. This met with Dr. Grierson's warm approval and in his judgement was likely to

be understood by every one in the district, being written in the language of the people, without any Sanskrit words. Nothing further, however, has appeared in this dialect. In the *Bhojpuri* dialect, Miss Robertson, of the Regions Beyond Missionary Union, with the help of local Indians, produced a version of St. John's Gospel in the Kaithi script, which was issued in a tentative edition of 1,000 by the Calcutta Auxiliary in 1911. It proved to be well understood by the people of the Saran District of Bihar, and a second, revised edition was called for in 1913. In 1935 an edition in the Devanagari character was published.

For the villagers of Chota Nagpur, translations have been made into what is called the *Nagpuriya* dialect. The translator was the Rev. P. Eidnaes of the Gossner Evangelical Lutheran Mission, whose version of St. Matthew was published by the Calcutta Auxiliary in 1907 in the Kaithi character in an edition of 2,000. In 1909 a second edition of 5,000 was called for, and St. Mark was also published, the other two Gospels appearing in the following year and Acts in 1913. These translations were fully approved by the S.P.G. missionaries. An interesting tribute to the quality of this translation was paid in an unusual quarter. A Jesuit missionary at Ranchi spoke very highly of it, referring specially 'to the great care, talent and solicitude for fidelity' which mark the version. In 1915 Romans and Corinthians were issued, and two of the Gospels have also been issued in the Devanagari character.

Ho is the dialect of the 'Fighting Kols', spoken by about 400,000 people in Singbhum and the tributary states of the north of Bengal. In 1915 St. Luke was published by the Calcutta Bible Society, the translation being the work of the Rev. A. Logsdaile and the Rev. Abraham Bodra of the S.P.G.

CHAPTER XIII

The Hill and Jungle Tribes of Central India

GONDI. All over India, modern labels conceal much ancient history, and not least successful among these is the obliteration of the ancient realm of Gondwana in the Central Provinces. To-day we speak of an aboriginal tribe of Gonds, with a great medley of dialects in their unwritten language—a language, the scholars tell us, midway between Tamil and Telugu. In so far as they have come into the open plains, they are largely Hinduized, but in their own jungles they retain their own animistic worship. But centuries ago most of the hill country that is now included in the Central Provinces was Gond country, not merely in the modern sense that it is largely inhabited by Gonds. There were Gond dynasties, a Gond civilization, expressing itself in great fortified cities, the ruins of some of which are still to be seen, and rich in treasures of gold and jewels. From the twelfth to the eighteenth centuries they maintained themselves, owning a nominal allegiance and paying some small tribute to Mohammedan overlords, but nevertheless sufficiently independent in their own territories. Hindus penetrated into the more fertile tracts and were content to accept the mild government of the Gond rajas. The coming of the Mahrattas in the eighteenth century, however, disturbed this comparatively stable political relationship. They overran Gondwana and conquered it, as they conquered so much else, with little difficulty. The Gonds fled to the hills and their lands fell to the Bhonsle Raja of Nagpur, and so in 1853 to the British.

In the 1931 Census 1,864,878 people are returned as speakers of Gondi as their mother-tongue, of whom 16,134 are returned as literate; but it is estimated that there are over 3 million in the Gond group, and in addition there are considerable numbers of Gond origin who, by living in close contact with Hindu villages outside the jungles, have absorbed a good deal of Hinduism and are now recognized as belonging to Hindu castes.

Even among the Gonds themselves, rapid changes are taking place. The totemism which was found as a governing principle in their religious and social observances a generation or two ago is now largely forgotten, and the influence of Hinduism has greatly increased; the opening-up of the jungles by the making of roads has brought many of the Gonds into touch with other Indian people, so that the old customs are now to be found chiefly in the most inaccessible hills and jungles. The same tendency is at work in the language of the people. Most Gonds are bilingual, and it seems inevitable that the language that has no literature and that opens no way of communication with the outside world will ultimately be displaced.

This is not the place to tell the romantic and tragic story of the beginnings of Christian work among the Gonds—of how in 1841 six men of the Gossner Mission were sent to Gondwana. They settled in a Gond village near the source of the Nerbudda River, but within a few months four of them had died of cholera, and the other two retreated to Nagpur. The C.M.S. in 1854 founded a Mission at Jubbulpore with a view to Gond work, but it was not a good centre. In 1866 the Free Church of Scotland opened a station at Chhindwara, where since 1886 the work has been carried on by the Swedish Mission. It was in 1872 that St. Matthew's Gospel was translated into the *Chhindwara* dialect by the Rev. J. Dawson of the Scotch Mission, St. Mark appearing in the following year in the Devanagari character. In 1895 St. Luke, and in 1897 St. John, was issued in *Mandla*, or *Parsi Gondi*, the work of C.M.S. missionaries.

Meanwhile, further south in the *Koi* dialect of Gondi (closely resembling Telugu: 'Koitor' is the name by which the Gonds call themselves), St. Luke and the First Epistle of St. John had been translated in 1882 by Colonel (later Major-General) F. Haig, who had been impressed by the needs of the Kois while constructing canals in the Central Provinces. This was published in Madras in Roman type, a Telugu type edition of St. Luke revised by the Rev. J. Cain of the C.M.S. appearing in 1889. All these were small editions of only 500 copies. Though there is now no demand for Gondi Scriptures, it is not to be assumed that work among the Gonds is at a standstill. The Christian education of Gonds is being carried on either in Hindi or in Telugu; according to the locality in which they live. Of recent years the work among them has entered upon a new phase, considerable numbers of Gonds having been attracted to Christianity by the great mass movements in the Telugu country; Gond children are in Telugu Christian boarding schools. The influence of this is also being felt among other Gonds, who, like many other primitive Indian peoples, are feeling pulses of new life and aspiration, stirrings, as we must believe, of the Spirit of God Himself.

KHONDI OR KANDHI. The Khonds are a Dravidian race chiefly found in the Orissa Hills. The fact that their language, like Gondi, occupies a middle position in the Dravidian language between the Tamil, Kanarese, and Malayalam, on the one hand, and Telugu, on the other, has led some scholars to believe that the Khonds and the Gonds were originally one tribe, becoming separated in the course of their northward migrations. As the Gonds call their own language 'Koi', the Khonds call theirs 'Kui'. The number of Khonds returned in the 1931 Census was 585,109. The Khonds, like the Gonds, present a most interesting field of study to the ethnologist, but from the standpoint of this book there is little to record. The Gospel of Mark was issued in 1893, the translation being the work of the Rev. A. B.

Wilkinson of the Baptist Missionary Society in Ganjam. Some tentative work was done on St. Matthew and St. Luke by a Lutheran missionary of the Schleswig-Holstein Mission in 1915 and 1916, but it was interfered with by the Great War, and has not been resumed. The Baptist Translation Society issued the Gospels and Acts in the Ganjam dialect of Khondi in 1917 and 1919. But Khondi, with no literature or character of its own, and spoken by a comparatively small number of people in increasingly close contact with other strong linguistic groups, is almost certain to have no future of its own. Its people will become literate, in so far as literacy spreads, in a language other than that which their forefathers have spoken.

BHILI. What has been written above as to the improbability of the literary survival of Gondi and Khondi is equally true of Bhili, the language of the hill-tribes in the western part of the Central Provinces and in adjacent tracts of the Central India states. In so far as literacy is spreading, it is in one or other of the major languages, Marathi or Hindi, so that though the Bible Society has published portions in three distinct Bhili dialects there is no probability of further translation being needed or of any considerable circulation of the portions already available. It was in 1917 that St. Mark's Gospel was first published, the translation being made by Dr. J. Buchanan of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission at Amkhut into a dialect representing the *central* Bhili group. In 1919 was published a tentative translation of St. Mark in the *Dehwali* dialect by Dr. Enok Hedberg of the Swedish Alliance Mission, to be followed by other portions till in 1931 the whole New Testament was issued. In the same year Dr. Hedberg saw through the press a version of the New Testament which he had made into *Valvi*, a dialect spoken by about 25,000 people in the northernmost part of the West Khandesh district of the Bombay Presidency known as Akrani.

The last few years, however, have seen a dramatic change

in the relation of many Bhil groups to Christianity, particularly in some of the Central India states. Many of these people, largely untouched as they have been by either the good or bad elements of the Hindu culture on the borders of which they have been living, and therefore preserving a virile independence in marked contrast to the classes that have been depressed in the Hindu system, have taken decisive steps towards Christianity, and already in the field of the Missions of the United Church of Canada there are many thousands who name the name of Christ and who give promise of a vigorous and self-supporting life within the Church. In poverty extreme, they have nevertheless responded to the appeal of the Gospel as a message of spiritual and social regeneration. There is a great future for such an indigenous people, still near to the soil and possessed of natural qualities which will be brought to rich fruition under the liberating power of the Gospel. But the medium through which they will receive the Gospel is likely to be one of the major Indian languages, rather than any of the primitive Bhili dialects, which have no literature, and the use of which forbids ordinary intercourse with men of other tongues.

KURUKH (or *Oraon*, or *Uraon*). The Kurukhs, as they call themselves, are an aboriginal tribe, living chiefly in Chhota Nagpur; Oraon is the name given to them by their Aryan neighbours. Their language belongs to the Dravidian family, its closest relationship being with Kanarese. In the 1931 Census, over a million people are returned as having this as their mother-tongue. To this people belongs the distinction of being the first aboriginal tribe in India to have one of its sons as a translator of part of the Bible. Babu Mansiah Ekka was born of Christian Kurukh parents. He was trained for the Lutheran ministry and in due course became Assistant Professor of Greek at the Theological Seminary of the Gossner Mission at Ranchi, and he translated the Gospels of Mark, Luke and John into his native tongue. Some of his work was revised by the Rev. F. Hahn during his furlough

and was printed at Oxford in 1895 for the Bible Society; the rest of the translation was printed in India by the Calcutta Auxiliary. The Devanagari character is used. In 1914 the Rev. B. Lauzemis brought out a revised translation of St. Matthew. In addition to the four Gospels, the three epistles of St. John have also been published.

MALTO, the language of a tribe called the 'Paharias', who live chiefly in the jungles of the Rajmahal Hills in the Bhagalpur District of Bengal. 'Maler' is their word for themselves—'the people'—and 'Malto' is 'the language of the people'. It is a Dravidian language and is spoken by 70,000 people as their mother-tongue; the first book to be printed in it was St. Luke's Gospel, translated by the Rev. E. Droese, of the C.M.S., who had lived over twenty years among the Malers. It was issued in 1881; by 1887 all the Gospels had been issued and in 1889 the Book of Psalms appeared. The Roman character was used.

KURKU is another language of the Kolarian family, not unlike Mundari or Kol. The Kurkus, or Korkus, are a hill tribe living in the west of the Central Provinces, chiefly on the slopes of the Satpura Hills. The account of them given by Russell (in *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, iii, p. 568) says: 'Like most hill-tribes, the Korkus are remarkably honest and truthful, slow at calculation and very indignant at being cheated. They are very improvident and great drunkards.' The language is in a state of decay and transition, Hindi and Marathi words creeping into it, and, as in the case of other primitive languages, in so far as literacy spreads, it is likely to be in the nearest major language rather than in Kurku. The total number of Kurku in the 1931 Census is 169,728. The Kurku and Central India Hills Mission is working among them, and in 1900 the Bible Society published St. Mark in the Devanagari character, translated into Kurku by Mr. J. Drake (later

of the B.M.S., Agra). St. Mark and St. Luke were also published in 1912 and 1913 by Miss Wardlaw Ramsay at her own expense, the character being Roman and the translation chiefly by herself and Mr. E. Charles of the same mission.

CHAPTER XIV

Versions of the North-West

PANJABI is the language of the central plains of the Panjab; it is spoken by the Sikhs, and is thus the vernacular of the Sikh regiments in the British Army. Its source was in the 'midland' of the Gangetic Doab, as described in Chapter III; but it underwent modifications from its contact with the original Lahnda of the Panjab, which it seems to have pushed before it to the west. Panjabi possesses little literature, but Grierson speaks of its vocabulary as being capable of expressing all ideas, and having 'a charming rustic flavour', like the Lowland Scotch of Burns. It is written in the Gurmukhi script, which is related to the Devanagari character; a previous script seems to have been unintelligible, save sometimes to its own writer, and this was devised in the sixteenth century by Angad, the fifth Sikh *guru*, for the purpose of recording the Sikh scriptures. To this it owes its name—'from the mouth of the *guru*'.

The Serampore missionaries began their Panjabi translation in 1807, but the type was destroyed by the 1812 fire and it was thus not till 1815 that the New Testament was issued from the press. This was followed by the Pentateuch and by the rest of the Old Testament to the end of Ezekiel xxvi, which appeared in 1826; but the remaining books of the Old Testament were not translated. The work was evidently of little practical use in the Panjab. The American Presbyterian Mission started work in the Panjab in 1834, and one of its first missionaries, the Rev. J. Newton, commenced a new translation in 1837 and in 1840 his version of Matthew appeared, followed by John in 1841. The publication of the remaining Gospels and Acts was delayed by a fire at the Mission press in 1845, which destroyed the printed sheets;

but in 1847 the four Gospels and Acts were issued in one volume, at the expense of the American Bible Society. Meanwhile, L. Janvier of the same Mission had translated Genesis and the first twenty chapters of Exodus, which were published by the North India Auxiliary Bible Society in 1851, his Luke appearing in 1856 and Psalms in 1863. The Panjab Auxiliary Bible Society came into existence in 1863 and one of its first activities was to arrange for the complete New Testament in Panjabi, and this was brought out in 1868, translation and revision being mainly the work of J. Newton, who throughout his fifty-six years of missionary service never ceased to be interested in problems of Bible translation.

In 1889 a Revision Committee for the New Testament was appointed, with E. P. Newton as its Convener, and in 1900 the Revised New Testament was published. Meanwhile, many of the books of the Old Testament were translated and published one by one. Most of the translation was the work of J. Harvey, of the Government School at Amritsar; the first of his translations to be published was Daniel in 1874. There was the suggestion that there were too many Persian words in Newton's translation and in this Old Testament work an attempt was made to use Hindi equivalents, more readily understood by comparatively illiterate Panjabis.

In 1884 the Sermon on the Mount was published in *Musalmani-Panjabi*, a form of Panjabi spoken not only by Mohammedans in the Cental Panjab, but also by village Christians. It contains more Urdu than the language as used by Sikhs and Hindus. The Gospels and Acts were issued in this in subsequent years, both in Persian and in Roman characters, as well as in the Gurmukhi character: members of the United Presbyterian Mission and R. Bateman of the C.M.S. were responsible for the earlier efforts. The whole New Testament was published in 1912, and Genesis has also been issued.

PASHTO belongs to the Iranian family of languages and is spoken in Afghanistan and in the tracts lying to the

west of the River Indus in the North-West Frontier Province. The first work of translation was undertaken in Calcutta by the eminent orientalist, J. Leyden, commissioned by the Calcutta Corresponding Committee and at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society. By the time of his death in 1811 the Gospels of Matthew and Mark had been translated, and his work was taken up by the Serampore missionaries, who issued the New Testament in 1818 and the Pentateuch six years later. Of the general value of this translation it is not possible to speak, but there is a record of the history of one copy of this New Testament which must be set against the impression that much of the translation work of Serampore was fruitless. Canton's *History of the British and Foreign Bible Society* tells the story (vol. iii, pp. 394-5).

✧ 'Another version takes us to Peshawar. There in 1853—one of the heart-stirring episodes in the history of Indian evangelization—the C.M.S. mission was founded. One of the first needs of the Mission was the Bible in Pashtu for the fierce Moslem population, the wild tribesmen of the Khaibar, and the 6,000,000 of people in Afghanistan. Leyden and Carey had long been dead, and oblivion had fallen on their Afghan work. "The Scriptures were supposed never to have been translated into Pashtu, and two or three officers undertook to translate some of the Gospels."

"Then, in a flash, the Frontier Commissioner, the heroic Herbert Edwardes, remembered that he had once seen a Pashtu Testament in the hands of a fine old Pathan chief. It had been given him in his youth while selling horses at Hurdwar Fair, and the missionary had charged him to keep it safe from fire and water, for some day it would be of use to him, when the English should come to his country. "The day has come," Ali Khan had said, "and here is the book, unharmed by fire or water." It was unrolled from many wrappers—the New Testament, Pashtu

in Persian character, printed at the Serampore Mission in 1818.

'Application was at once made to Serampore, but not a copy could be found in the Mission library. Then Ali Khan was persuaded to give his precious volume in exchange for a Persian Bible. Captain James provided designs for casting such Pashtu letters as differed from the Persian, and the Auxiliary reprinted 3,000 copies of the solitary book which had been so wonderfully preserved "against God's good time".' ~

In 1863 the New Testament was issued by the North India Bible Society; it was the work of Isidor Löwenthal, a Christian Jew in the service of the American Presbyterian Mission, who was assisted by Robert Clark of the C.M.S., and H. James, Commissioner of the Panjab. Löwenthal had arrived in India in 1855 and had completed the New Testament translation by 1861. He was going on with Old Testament translation, but the work was tragically cut short by his death. He was shot while walking in his garden at night, the Afghan watchman who did it reporting that he did not recognize him.

In 1883 the Panjab Auxiliary Bible Society appointed a committee for the revision of the New Testament. T. J. L. Mayer of the C.M.S. was the chief reviser and based his translation on the Greek text underlying the English Revised Version of 1881. He was assisted by Abdur Rahman and W. Jukes, also of the C.M.S., revised the work before it was published. The final MS. copy of the text was made by Ghulam Jelani, who was reputed to be the best calligraphist in Afghanistan. Photographic plates from this were made in London and in 1890 an edition of 5,000 copies was printed, with ornamental title-pages designed by T. J. L. Mayer. In the same year the Pentateuch appeared, some use being made of the 1824 Serampore version, and in 1895 the whole Bible was published in four volumes.

The Rev. A. E. Day and Gazi Khan Ullah of the C.M.S.,

Peshawar, revised and printed St. Luke. This version was revised and reprinted by the Lahore Bible Society in 1924 and in 1931, at the cost of the father of the late Dr. Richardson of the C.M.S., Dera Ismail Khan, who died of influenza while on active service in Waziristan in 1919.

St. Matthew was revised by a committee of Frontier missionaries with the Rev. J. Christiansen (Danish Pathan Mission) as Chief Reviser, and published in 1932.

BALUCHI, the mother-tongue of 628,036 people, is the language of Baluchistan, and, like Pashto, to which it is closely related, engaged the attention of John Leyden in Calcutta. His Mark was presented by him to the Corresponding Committee in Calcutta and after his death the Serampore missionaries employed his *pandits* for some time; in 1815 the three Gospels appear to have been published; but nothing further is known of this translation. In 1884 the Panjab Auxiliary Bible Society published Matthew in a translation made by Arthur Lewis of the C.M.S. In 1898 the systematic translation of the New Testament was begun by T. J. L. Mayer of the C.M.S., who had already been so largely responsible for the Pashto translation, and by the end of 1907 he had seen through the press all the books of the New Testament and a considerable part of the old. Scriptures were printed in both Arabic and Roman script, but there has been little demand for them, and it seems probable that if literacy spreads it is likely to be in Urdu rather than in Balochi.

BRAHUI is the language of the Brahuis, the dominant race in Baluchistan, and is spoken in Eastern Baluchistan and in North Sind. In 1882 J. Sheldon, of the C.M.S., had translated St. Luke into Brahui, and the Bible Society was prepared to print it, but nothing was actually published. G. Shirt, of the same Mission, who died at Quetta in 1886, left MSS. notes and these were ultimately handed over to T. J. Lee Mayer, who was working under the direction of the

Bible Society. In 1904 he was instructed to devote himself to the study of the language with a view to bringing out a Gospel. Mr. Lee Mayer prepared a Brahui vocabulary and grammar, and in 1907 St. John was issued in both Roman and Arabic characters, and the MSS. of Mark and Luke were sent to the Bible House. Mr. Lee Mayer was thus largely instrumental in producing translations in the three languages of Pashto, Balochi and Brahui. No further editions have been called for.

LAHNDA : HINDKO. This is the general name for the north-western dialect of Lahnda, spoken by some 800,000 people in the Peshawar and Hazara districts. (*Multani*, the form of the language spoken in the Western Panjab, was one of the languages in which a New Testament was issued from Serampore in 1819. In the *Jatki* dialect Dr. Jukes, of the C.M.S. at Kotgarh, translated a number of books of the Old and New Testaments, but the possible circulation was so small as not to justify publication, and in 1905 Dr. Jukes's MSS. were sent to London, where they are preserved in the Library strong-room at the Bible House.) In Hindko a version of St. John's Gospel, prepared by Miss C. L. Robertson (who translated the same Gospel into Bhojpuri in 1911), with the help of two Indian pastors, was published in Persian character in 1929.

KASHMIRI, the language of Kashmir, as early as 1821 had the New Testament translated by the Serampore missionaries, and by 1832 the Old Testament up to the end of Kings had appeared. This was printed in the Sarada character, the ancient script of Kashmir, related to Devanagari, but special types had to be made for it at Serampore.

In 1880, T. R. Wade of the C.M.S. published the Sermon on the Mount in the Sarada character, but in the complete New Testament which he translated, and which was published by the Panjab Auxiliary Bible Society in 1884, a modified form of the Persian character was used: he was

assisted in his work of translation by a catechist, Suleiman and other Kashmiris. In 1899 the Old Testament was issued in three volumes, consisting of the thirty-nine books which had been separately issued between 1896 and 1899. The translation was the work of J. H. Knowles, of the C.M.S., and the Gospels as revised by him were also republished. There have been subsequent revisions by Drs. A. and E. Neve and their assistants. From the famous C.M.S. Hospital in Srinagar they are carried by the returning patients to many a distant village of the Kashmir Valley and to hamlets hidden in the folds of the Hindu-Kush.

The New Testament was the first book ever published in the language and there has thus been no problem of adjustment of style to classical standards. Kashmiri is an Aryan language, but neither Indo-Aryan nor Iranian; it is the most southerly of an independent branch of the great Aryan family which has, however, undergone great changes in contact with its southern, Indo-Aryan, neighbours. In the 1931 census those who speak it as their mother-tongue number 1,438,021. Urdu is now the medium of instruction in schools in Kashmir.

BALTI, a language spoken by the Mohammedan population of Baltistan in North-west Kashmir. It is identified by Dr. Grierson with Bhotia, and belongs to the Himalayan and trans-Himalayan group of the Tibeto-Burman family. St. Matthew was published by the Panjab Auxiliary of the Bible Society in 1903. The translation was the work of the Rev. F. Gustafson, of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission, and at that time 2,000 Baltis were said to be able to read. A second edition was issued in 1906, and St. John, by the same translator, appeared in 1907. In 1919 a tentative edition of Acts was prepared by the Rev. H. C. Robertson of the Central Asian Mission, with the help of the *munshi* who had assisted Mr. Gustafson, and St. Luke was also published, translated by a Panjabi Christian under Mr. Robertson's supervision.

SHINA: *Gurezi* dialect, spoken in the valley of the Kishenjunga, Kashmir. St. Mark's Gospel, translated by a Christian teacher in Gurez, where there is a small Christian Dard community, was published by the Bible Society in 1930 at the request of the Central Asian Mission.

SINDHI, the language of Sindh and some neighbouring States, is the mother-tongue of 4,006,147 people: it is closely akin to Lahnda, or Western Panjabi, and belongs to the north-western group of the Indo-Aryan family. The Serampore missionaries published Matthew in 1825, but of this nothing further is known. In 1843 Lieutenant Eastwick, of the Bombay army, undertook to prepare a translation, but he had to leave India on account of ill-health before he had completed any portion of it. In 1849 G. Stack, a captain in the army and Deputy Collector of Hyderabad, Sindh, finished a translation of Matthew; this was published by the Bombay Auxiliary Bible Society in 1850, lithographed in the Devanagari character. In 1858 A. Burn, of the C.M.S., translated John, and it was lithographed in the Arabic character. In the following year it was issued in Gurmukhi character, with the theological and religious terms current among Hindus substituted for the corresponding Moslem terms. Other portions followed, Burn being assisted by A. Matchett, also of the C.M.S., and a Mohammedan convert, Abdullah. The later books of the New Testament were the work of C. W. Isenberg and G. Shirt, both of the C.M.S., and were completed by 1878; but the complete New Testament was not issued till 1890, though these translations had been circulated in manuscript and read in church during the intervening years. Most of the work had had Mohammedan readers in view, but in 1897 J. Redman, of the C.M.S., issued Luke in a form adapted to Hindus and other portions followed. In 1906 a Revision Committee was appointed with J. Redman as chairman to prepare a translation based on the English Revised Version with reference to the Greek text and the revised Urdu New Testament.

This committee issued Mark in 1908, the final draft being approved by a smaller committee which was assisted by Permanand Mewaram, a Roman Catholic scholar, and by Kalich Beg, a Mohammedan Sindhi scholar; this, and subsequent portions, was prepared in two forms, Musalmani-Sindhi and Hindu-Sindhi, to suit the two main classes of readers whose common language is Sindhi but whose religious vocabularies are very different.

KULU. This is a dialect of Hindi spoken in parts of the Kangra District of the Panjab by about 100,000 people. John's Gospel was issued in 1932. The translation was prepared under the supervision of an officer of the Forest Service, who also paid the whole cost of the edition.

CHAMBIALI is the language of the Chamba State, one of the hill States in the Panjab States Agency. 'It is written in the Tākri script, which is used for all ordinary correspondence in the hills and in the Chamba State, and is the medium for all State correspondence between the capital and the officials in the interior. It is a very ancient character, one of the oldest in Northern India, and was at one time (more than a thousand years ago) in use everywhere in Chamba on the plains as well as in the hills.' Three of the Gospels were translated and published by the Church of Scotland Mission in 1882. In 1910 a revised translation of all the four Gospels, prepared by Dr. Hutchison of the Church of Scotland Mission in Chamba, with the help of the Rev. Sohan Lal, was ready; the Gospels were published by the Panjab Auxiliary of the Bible Society.

GARHWALI has two dialects that appear in Scripture translations. Among the Serampore New Testaments was one in the *Srinagaria* dialect, issued in 1827. In 1876 an edition of 2,000 copies of St. Matthew translated by J. H. Gill, of the Methodist Episcopal Mission, was published at the M.E.

Mission Press, Lucknow. This was in the *Paori* dialect, which is practically identical with the standard, Srinagar, form of Garhwali. In *Garhwali Tehri*, the dialect of the State of Tehri, in the Himalayas, T. Carmichael of the C.M.S. prepared a translation of St. Matthew which was published in Roman characters in 1895. A revision of this, by Mr. and Mrs. Greet, of the Tehri Border Mission, was issued in the Devanagari character by the North India Auxiliary; the funds for this were specially contributed at the Annual Meeting of the Auxiliary in Mussoorie. A number of educated Hindus of the Tehri State had taken a great interest in the project, and had gone carefully through a tentative version of the first seven chapters of the Gospel, before the complete Gospel was issued in 1910. In 1914 a revised edition of St. Matthew was issued.

JAUNSARI is spoken among the hill people in the Jaunsar district of Garhwal in the Himalayas, and in 1895 St. Matthew's Gospel, translated by T. Carmichael of the C.M.S., was published in Roman script. In 1905, Mr. Carmichael's St. Mark, revised and seen through the press by his successor, T. Law, was issued in the Devanagari character.

TIBETAN. Tibet has been the field of heroic pioneer effort by the Moravian missionaries. They were able to settle at Kailang (Kyelang) in Lahoul in 1856 and at once H. A. Jäschke began the work of Bible translation. The first portions were lithographed in 1860 by A. W. Heyde, and by the end of 1871 the whole of the New Testament, except Mark, Luke, Hebrews and Revelation had been printed and distributed among fifty lamaseries and in about a hundred and eighty villages, in which there were many readers. 'Some dreaded the witchcraft of foreign books, and gave them back; others used the leaves as medicine in times of sickness; others again kept lamps burning before them, as with their own sacred writings' (Canton's *History*, iii, 399). In 1872

the Panjab Auxiliary of the Bible Society supplied paper and money for an edition of Matthew, Mark and John. In 1883 the great scholar, Jäschke, died at Herrnhut, after revising the four Gospels, and seeing through the press in Berlin his Tibetan Dictionary for the Indian Government. The Epistles and Revelation were printed in 1885 at Ghoom, three miles from Darjeeling, where the Scandinavian Alliance Mission had their headquarters. Heyde and J. Redslob of the Moravian Mission meanwhile completed the translation of the Psalms, and revised the New Testament, and in 1896 the Moravian Mission asked the Bible Society for another edition. It was felt, however, that for popular use Jäschke's translation was hardly suitable, and in 1898 a representative committee including A. W. Heyde—who was transferred to Ghoom as Chief Reviser—J. F. Fredericksen of the Scandinavian Alliance (till his death, when E. Amundsen took his place), J. R. Macdonald, a Government official, and Graham Sandberg, chaplain, was appointed to revise the text in the interests of greater simplicity. The New Testament thus revised was issued in 1903. Mr. Heyde then retired from the field and settled at Herrnhut, and at his request the printing of the Old Testament was begun in Berlin in 1905. Meanwhile Psalms was printed in Calcutta, A. H. Francke seeing it through the press. The translation was in metrical form, the work of J. Redslob, assisted by several Tibetans, some of them lamas of Central Tibet. Other portions were printed in places as far apart as Oxford and Shanghai. In August 1907 A. W. Heyde died in his eighty-third year. He had served in India from 1853 to 1903, and in his retirement he continued the work to which he had given his life. Among his last activities were seeing the Pentateuch through the press, and correcting Redslob's version of Joshua as far as Chapter 10. He was also reading the proofs of a reprint at Oxford of the New Testament in new medium type—work continued by Mrs. Heyde after his death. Meanwhile others were busy with other Old Testament books. In 1908 the Gospels and the Pentateuch were

published, and in 1912 A. H. Francke and David Macdonald of Gyantze, Tibet, undertook the preparation of the rest of the Old Testament, the Bible Society at the request of the Moravian Mission Board making a contribution towards Dr. Francke's salary. In 1914 Dr. Francke travelled to India by way of Russia and Chinese Turkestan, to carry out scientific investigations on the Tibetan borders on behalf of the Royal Ethnological Museum of Munich. He had hoped to visit the eastern frontier as well as the western, and to confer with Mr. Macdonald about the Old Testament translation; but like other German missionaries in India he was interned during the war. After the war the work was continued, and Dr. Francke had seen through the press several of the historical books before his death in February 1930. Since then the work has been carried on by Bishop F. E. Peter of Leh, latterly with the help of the Rev. J. Gergan; in 1935 it was completed, and the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah were in the press.

LADAKHI or Western Tibetan has had St. Mark's Gospel translated into it. In 1905 A. H. Francke of the Moravian Mission was engaged on this work, and in 1907 five chapters were tentatively printed by lithography by the Mission. The Bible Society undertook to publish the whole Gospel, but there was delay owing to the death of the *munshi* who was preparing the transfers. In 1908, however, a small edition was lithographed in Bombay, the major part of it being sent to F. E. Peter of the Moravian Mission, Leh. Another edition prepared by a Ladakhi schoolmaster and revised by the Rev. (later Bishop) F. E. Peter was issued in 1919.

LAHULI, spoken in Western Tibet and the neighbouring parts of the Panjab, has St. Mark's Gospel in three dialects. In *Bunan*, spoken by 2,000 people in the north-west Panjab on the borders of Tibet, some verses were translated by A. W. Heyde in anticipation of a whole Gospel being

translated. In 1908 A. H. Francke had completed a version of St. Mark, and struck off forty copies of it, which were circulated among the people; after this test and after careful revision, it was lithographed at Herrnhut in 1911 at the expense of the Bible Society.

At the same time, in the *Manchad* dialect, Dr. Francke was similarly circulating a version made by himself and a Tibetan evangelist named Zodpa. This was printed by lithography in 1914. No other Gospels have been issued, as Christian converts learn Tibetan.

Dr. Francke and Zodpa, whose expenses were met by the Bible Society during the time that he was released by the Moravian Mission for this work, were also responsible for a version in *Tinan*, which after a similar process of testing was published in 1915.

KANAURI is another language that is allied to, though distinct from Tibetan. It is the language of the Kanawar country in Bashahr, the largest in extent of the Simla Hill States, to the north and north-east of Simla, on the borders of Spiti and Tibet; it is spoken by some 20,000 people. The men in general also speak Hindi, but the women and children speak only Kanauri. In 1908 St. Mark's Gospel was published by the Bible Society at Lahore, the cost being met by the Church of England congregation at Simla as their centenary offering. The translation was the work of J. T. and Mrs. Bruske. After fourteen years with the Gossner Mission in Chhota Nagpur they had joined the Moravians at Leh in 1894, and in 1900 were in charge of a newly opened station of the Moravians at Chini on the River Sutlej, about fourteen days' march from Simla. They reduced the language to writing, and in spite of Mr. Bruske's ill-health succeeded in translating St. Mark. The work at Chini was subsequently taken over by the Salvation Army, and in 1918 a translation of St. John was issued in the Tankri character, prepared by F. Mortimer.

CHAPTER XV

Sinhalese

OF THE ESTIMATED POPULATION of Ceylon of a little less than five and a half millions, 3,559,000 are Sinhalese, while 1,328,000 are Tamils; there is also an aboriginal race, the Veddahs, in whose caves in the eastern jungles of Ceylon palaeolithic remains have been found, and who speak a language of their own. The classical language is Pali, in which the Buddhist Scriptures are written.

Ceylon has had a chequered history of invasion and foreign domination, from at least the sixth century B.C., when Vijaya came from India with a band of Aryan followers and founded the Sinhalese dynasty. The marks of the agricultural achievement of those distant days are still to be seen in the great irrigation tanks of Anuradhapura, opened about 504 B.C. In the third century the island was converted to Buddhism by the preaching of Mahinda, the son of the Emperor Asoka. The succeeding centuries were marked by invasions from the Tamil and Malabar countries of South India, with spasmodic Sinhalese resistance and occasional victories. In the fifteenth century, for some thirty years the island was subject to China, and an interesting field of speculation is opened up by the thought of what might have been if this halfway house had continued to be held from the Far East rather than from the West. But in 1517 the Portuguese occupied the island, and continued to govern it with fanatical religious zeal till the coming of the Dutch in the middle of the seventeenth century, the Dutch themselves being displaced by the British in 1796.

It was during the Dutch occupation that the first translation of the New Testament was made into Sinhalese, the date of publication being 1739. The last edition issued by

the Dutch was in 1780, though the Pentateuch was published nine years later. Early in the nineteenth century there was a great shortage of Scriptures, though Henry Martyn in his Calcutta sermon in 1806 referred to the existence of 342,000 Sinhalese Protestant Christians and an even larger number of Roman Catholics.

The Colombo Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society was formed in 1812, but before then the Calcutta Auxiliary most generously printed an edition of 2,000 copies of the Dutch translation of 1780 of the New Testament and presented it to the newly formed Colombo Auxiliary. The printing was done at Serampore, a competent person being sent from Colombo to correct the proofs. It was fortunate in escaping destruction in the great Serampore fire of March 12th, 1812.

Almost the first work undertaken by the Colombo Auxiliary was the production of a new translation. The supply of New Testaments from Calcutta, welcome though it was, was quite inadequate to meet the need, and in any case the Dutch translation was regarded as unsatisfactory. The work was undertaken by the distinguished Oriental scholar, William Tolfrey, of the Ceylon Civil Service, and Government placed at his disposal the services of the most eminent Sinhalese scholars. William Tolfrey's name is one to be held in remembrance by all lovers of the Sinhalese Bible. But for him it is certain that the Auxiliary would have remained content to publish editions of the Dutch translation. His zeal and scholarship combined to make a new and better translation possible, and he stands out as one of a noble company of Government servants who put the whole Christian community in their debt by the work of translation which they did.

William Tolfrey was born in England in 1778. In 1794 he came to India and joined his father in Calcutta, with no particular employment in prospect. His only qualification, we read, was the 'sound and excellent understanding he had received from nature and which had been improved by a

liberal education at one of the best schools in England'. However, his father found him a temporary place in one of the public offices in Calcutta, and shortly afterwards he was nominated to a commission in the 74th Regiment of Foot. There could have been few less congenial occupations than Army service for a man of Tolfrey's tastes and inclinations, but he applied himself to his Army duties with such spirit that he gained rapid advancement. Those were days of considerable fighting, and during the Mysore War he went through the fierce and wearing Mahratta campaigns of 1803 and 1804. He took part in the Battle of Assaye, acting as Brigade Major under Colonel Harness, and being one of the very few officers who survived. It was his sad duty to bury in one grave twelve of his brother officers, and this and the other experiences through which he passed increased his distaste for Army life. He wrote at that time: 'I wish I could drink oblivion to the past and engage in some occupation not too weighty for the scope of my abilities and such as would be more consistent with my ideas of reason and comfort than the pursuit of martial glory, a pursuit which experience has taught me to consider as far better calculated to gratify vanity than to ensure the happiness of those who embark upon it.'

At the end of 1805 when his regiment was ordered home, Tolfrey took the opportunity to dispose of his commission. He then came to Ceylon on a visit to a cousin, who introduced him to the Governor, Sir Thomas Maitland. He was appointed to one of the public offices, and after a time nominated to the regular civil establishment of the colony—work which he found entirely congenial, and which gave him sufficient leisure for the study of Sinhalese and Pali. In due course he was appointed Sinhalese translator to the Government.

Meanwhile, in 1810, chiefly owing to the efforts of the Chief Justice, Sir Alexander Johnstone, the Bible Society had sent considerable quantities of Scriptures to Ceylon in English, Portuguese and Dutch; and in 1812, under the

Governorship of Sir Robert Brownrigg, the Colombo Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society was formed. There was, as we have seen, urgent need for the provision of Scriptures in Sinhalese. The old Dutch version might once more have been printed; but the fact that such a scholar as Tolfrey was in Colombo and was keenly interested in the whole project made it possible for the Committee to launch out on the far more ambitious scheme of a new translation, Tolfrey himself accepting the chief responsibility for it. To equip himself for it he not only revived his knowledge of Greek, but also studied Hebrew; he gave himself also to Sanskrit, Hindostani and Tamil, and was thoroughly familiar with the Sanskrit, Bengali and Tamil translations of the New Testament. A letter written at the time of his death gives an account of the way in which his days were spent:

‘Every morning, from 7 to 10, he devoted to Oriental studies: on Mondays and Tuesdays, particularly to the formation of a Pali dictionary; on Sundays, to the translation of a part of the Psalms in Cingalese; on Fridays, to the reading of Pali manuscripts; and on Thursdays, to the translation of a new Cingalese Grammar. Four days in the week he attended his business, from ten till after two, at the Revenue Offices, and the other two, at the Office of Cingalese Translator to Government.

‘His dinner occupied a very short time. From 4 to half-past 6 or 7, every afternoon, he applied closely to the translation of the New Testament into Pali and Cingalese. His time on Sundays after Church, was wholly devoted to the translation. He very seldom or never dined out; and his amusements were of that innocent and tranquil description which unbent his mind only to enable it to return with more elasticity to his studious pursuits. In the morning he rose soon after 5, and walked for an hour; in the evening music was his usual recreation; and he played either upon the violoncello, or upon an excellent organ

which he had purchased some time ago from England.

'He had finished the Pali translation to the end of the Epistle to Philemon, and the Cingalese to the end of the 2nd chapter of the 2nd Epistle to Timothy. He had accumulated a large stock of materials for a Pali Dictionary and a Cingalese Vocabulary, and Grammar. He had also made, at very considerable expense, a valuable collection of Cingalese and Pali Books.'

During the closing days of December 1816, he was suddenly attacked by sickness, and on January 4th, 1817, he died, being buried in St. Peter's Church, Fort, Colombo, on the walls of which may be seen a tablet to his memory.

Tolfrey's death removed a great scholar, but meanwhile several missionaries had made some progress in Sinhalese under his guidance (the Baptist Missionary Society started work in Ceylon in 1812, and the Wesleyan Methodist Mission in 1814) and three of them, Messrs. A. Armour of St. Paul's Church, Pettah, J. Charter of the Baptist Missionary Society and B. Clough of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, were formed into a board of translators to complete the work, with the same competent Sinhalese to help them. A civilian, C. E. Layard, was added to their number, and before the end of 1817 the complete New Testament in a quarto volume of 800 pages was issued from the press, while in 1823 the Old Testament followed in three volumes, though by this time there had been several changes in the personnel of the board of translators.

As in many other language areas, so in Ceylon one is compelled to the reflection that 'there were giants in the land in those days'. Two of the men mainly responsible for the translation of the Scriptures into Sinhalese also produced a translation of the New Testament in Pali, the work being begun by Mr. Tolfrey and completed by Mr. Clough. Many of these *Pali* translations were sent to Burma and were used in work among Buddhist monks there. During the same years the New Testament was translated also into *Indo-Portuguese*,

the language spoken by the descendants of the Portuguese in Ceylon.

In Sinhalese, more than in most of the languages which are touched on in this book, there was available competent indigenous scholarship and upon one such scholar, Don Abraham de Thomas, the Government conferred the title of 'Mudaliyar of the Governor's Gate', one of the highest honours that could be given. He had been thoroughly educated for the Buddhist priesthood and as a priest was received with the highest honour by the Buddhist Chief Priest at Kandy and by the Kandy King. In 1808, however, he went to Colombo and came into contact with Englishmen as a teacher of Sinhalese, as a result of which he gave up Buddhism and was baptized a Christian. He was Mr. Tolfrey's teacher and continual helper in the work of New Testament translation. An interesting account of him is given in the Report of the Ceylon Auxiliary for 1817.

Of the results of such translation work, Canton (*History of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, vol. i, pp. 377-8) gives an interesting illustration. He tells how, at the anniversary meeting of the Society in London on May 2nd, 1820, 'Dr. Adam Clarke introduced two Sinhalese converts. Reared from childhood in the temple of Buddha, they had reached the rank of high-priests when copies of the New Testament in their native tongue were given them to read. They were filled with astonishment. The Lord Jesus Christ had made friends of fishermen! "*They* were of the fishermen's caste in Ceylon, and it struck them that if the author of this religion did associate with persons of that profession who became the means of spreading the knowledge of His Gospel through almost the whole world, perhaps it might please Him to use *them*, who were fishermen also, to make known His Gospel to their countrymen.'" When Sir Alexander Johnstone sailed for England, they left their temple, their friends, and their country, put off in a boat, came up with the ship, then under way, and were taken on board and brought to England. That had happened in 1817. Dr. Clarke had received them

into his own house, and they had in time been admitted into full communion with the Church. These were of the labours of the British and Foreign Bible Society.'

The 'Tolfrey Version', completed in 1823, was followed in 1830 by a one-volume revision in much simpler style. Meanwhile, in 1833, the Anglican missionaries (S. Lambrick and James Selkirk) brought out a translation at the Bible Society's expense, which was published at Cotta. Their main contention seems to have been for greater simplicity, and the elimination of honorifics in connexion with the Divine name—still a fruitful source of strong differences of opinion. This version, however, failed to commend itself, and in 1853 a fresh translation of the New Testament was issued, commonly known as the 'Gogerly', version from the name of the scholarly Chief Reviser; the Old Testament issued at the same time was largely based on the earlier renderings. In 1886 yet another revision committee was set up with the Rev. S. Coles of the Church Missionary Society as its Chairman and with representatives of all societies; the revision was completed in 1909.

Side by side with these versions was a translation prepared by the Baptist Missionary Society about 1862, which circulated among members of that Church. From time to time efforts were made to secure a version that would be acceptable to all, but it was not until 1920 that a Reference Committee was appointed, with four Baptist representatives on it, to define the lines on which a Union Version could be brought out. Systematic work on the lines laid down was begun in 1925, and in 1931 the Union Version New Testament was published, and has been well received. Since then the Old Testament has been similarly revised, so that the Sinhalese Church is now provided with a Union Version of the whole Bible acceptable to all. The tradition of sound scholarship among Christian Sinhalese themselves has been well maintained, and the main burden of the translation work in these recent revisions has rightly rested upon chief revisers who have been translating into their own mother-tongue.

Epilogue

IN GIVING SOME ACCOUNT of how India has got the Bible, this book has attempted only a record of the unique work of Bible translation and publication; it has of necessity left untouched, save by occasional and casual reference, another indispensable element in the bringing of the Bible to India. The spiritual vision, sustained devotion and linguistic skill that have gone to the work of translation have needed to be supplemented by the patient and unobtrusive service of those who are responsible for the difficult task of distribution, and a word must be said in conclusion about the humble and faithful colporteurs who in many parts of India and Ceylon spend their lives in carrying the Word of God to those who otherwise would have no chance of receiving it. Scripture distribution is an integral part of the evangelistic work of all missions and Churches, and it is hoped that as the Indian Church grows in strength this side of its work will also be developed. But where the Church is still weak and where as yet it does not exist at all, the colporteur whose one task is to be a packman of the Scriptures has a great field of usefulness. In weekly markets and in great religious festivals, as well as in the ordinary life of town and village, he seeks out those who can read and offers to them in their own tongue that which has proved to be the Word of Life to men and women all over the world. Sometimes with the Bible Society's motor-van, sometimes in bullock-cart or on bicycle, sometimes in railway train or motor-bus, but more often plodding along the dusty roads on foot, he tries to be the friend of all men, that he may commend his precious wares to them. As we thank God for the glorious company of the translators, let us not forget to thank Him also for the noble army of colporteurs, who,

often amidst contempt and contumely, bear steadfast witness to the faith. 'How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace; that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation.'

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